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Language of Instruction in Rural Tanzania

A Critical Analysis of Parents' Discursive Practices and Valued Linguistic Capabilities

Language of Instruction in Rural Tanzania: A Critical Analysis of Parents' Discursive Practices and Valued Linguistic Capabilities

By

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Abstract

In Tanzania, rural, indigenous language communities attain the lowest outcomes in education. Language of instruction (LoI) is a factor, but indigenous languages are proscribed from classrooms. The exclusive use of Swahili and English in formal schooling has been upheld in over 50 years of educational policies. Research shows that mother tongue-based multilingual education can improve the situation; however, there is little interest from government or society to pursue it. Parents' linguistic values figure importantly into the problem, yet little is known about how language-in-education is conceptualised among minoritised language communities. This qualitative and transdisciplinary study explores parents' ideological beliefs about language and language learning to better understand their support and rejection of specific LoIs. Perspectives on language were elicited through interviews and focus groups with parents from the Malila language community. Taking a critical realist position that there are deeper mechanisms at work when people act semiotically, interview responses underwent critical discourse analysis to draw out an implicit but well-established Family Language Policy.

The study reveals LoI preferences are deeply connected to ideologies which are dialectically related in terms of the kinds of opportunities they are believed to generate. From the Capability Approach, I argue that parents look to schools to provide their children with alternate linguistic identities that better position them to achieve well-being. This is an egregious form of linguistic hegemony that sustains inequality and social exclusion for the Malila community. The study affirms and elaborates work done by Rubagumya et al. (2011) that suggests social status in Tanzania is linked to language repertoires. The findings call for i.) linguistic research and development to more rigorously appreciate the complexities 'behind' parents' stated LoI preferences, ii.) expansive training to address knowledge gaps about language-in-education, especially the efficacy of the mother tongue for learning and language acquisition, and iii.) vigorous work to validate indigenous languages so as to repair decades of discursive practices that have construed them in 'common sense' as inadequate for education.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

Ɨnkʉbhiikha ʉlʉbhaatɨkho ulu ʉlwa kʉbhalongozya abhantʉarea bhe Bhamalɨla na ku bhapaafi bhe bhíkhaaye peeka kuwenyelezi.

Ninaweka nadharia hii kwa watu Wamalila
na kwa wazazi walioshiriki kwenye utafiti.

I dedicate this thesis to the Malila people and
to the parents who participated in the study.

This research has been made possible by the support, encouragement and patience of many individuals and groups. Those acknowledged here are only a few of many. Unprecedented grace has been extended to me by

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

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List of Abbreviations

CA Capability Approach

CAQDAS computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software

CDA Critical Discourse Analysis

DL dominant language

DLoI dominant language of instruction

FLP Family Language Policy

LoI language of instruction

MLE mother tongue-based multilingual education

MPS Malila pre-school

MTE mother tongue education

NDL non-dominant language

NDLoI non-dominant language of instruction

SPS Swahili pre-school

TRC Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

UNDRIP United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

Chapter 1

Introduction

Like many nations in post-colonial, multilingual contexts, language of instruction (LoI) is a highly-contested space in the United Republic of Tanzania. With a population of approximately 55 million people speaking 117 indigenous and 8 immigrant languages (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021), the nation ranks among the most linguistically diverse countries in the world.[1] Tanzanian children, however, can only receive primary school instruction in one of two languages: Swahili or English.

In 1967, shortly after independence from Britain, Swahili—a trade language and lingua franca to the region—was adopted as the national language and instituted as the LoI for all years of primary school. English, however, was retained as an official language and continued as the LoI for secondary and tertiary education. Today, the situation remains relatively unchanged. In response to public pressure (Rubagumya 2003), amendments to the national education policy in 1995 reintroduced English back into primary school as an alternative to Swahili instruction (Ministry of Education and Culture 1995). The government, however, is only marginally invested in this. In 2012, there were just 8 state-funded English-medium primary schools (Ministry of Education & Vocational Training 2013). The private sector has been the main driver in the growth of English-medium primary schools but they are still a small percentage of the total. In 2012, there were only 643 compared to the 15,680 Swahili-medium primary schools reported in that same year (Ministry of Education & Vocational Training 2013). The cost and scarcity of English-medium primary schools, therefore, render them financially and geographically out of reach for the majority of Tanzanians. In 2015, education policy was amended again, this time showing greater favour to Swahili making the bold move to institute it as the LoI for secondary schooling

[1] UNESCO (2009) ranks Tanzania as 4th globally on the linguistic diversity index (see Greenberg 1956).

(Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2014). The policy, however, has received a mixed response and is yet to be implemented. All other languages in Tanzania remain proscribed for instruction in formal schooling.

UNESCO (1953) made the landmark declaration that all languages held a legitimate place as media of instruction in formal education. The declaration urged member states to allow for all communities, especially those linguistically marginalised, to access educational instruction in their own languages. The statement reflects how early support for mother tongue education (MTE) originated in a rights-based discourse. More recently, however, a growing body of evidence is establishing that mother tongue-based multilingual education (MLE)[2] can improve learning outcomes as well as provide more holistic benefits to children in indigenous language communities (Ouane and Glanz 2010; UNESCO 2007).[3] Note the shift in discourse from rights to results:

> It is an obvious yet not generally recognised truism that learning in a language which is not one's own provides a double set of challenges, not only is there the challenge of learning a new language but also that of learning new knowledge contained in that language. These challenges may be further exacerbated in the case of certain groups who are already in situations of educational risk or stress such as illiterates, minorities and refugees. (UNESCO 2003, p.14)

The quality of education in Tanzania as evidenced by pass rates is dismal. From 2013 to 2017, an average of only 63.7% of students passed the Primary School Leaving Examination (Ndibalema 2019) and various reports reveal the lowest performance comes from rural communities (Ministry of Education & Vocational Training 2013; The United Republic of Tanzania 2014; Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and UNICEF 2018). LoI is a considerable factor in this problem but addressing the matter is fraught with its own problems. The government, educational authorities and society have adopted a range of discursive practices related to LoI, which

[2] It is important to note that the 'MLE' acronym used throughout this thesis stands for the full phrase: 'mother tongue-based multilingual education'.

[3] The terms 'mother tongue', 'mother tongue education' and 'mother tongue-based multilingual education' are discussed in section 3.1.1.

if ignored, could frustrate, undermine and even prevent efforts to introduce MLE programs that in Tanzania, have the potential to substantially improve quality of education. The nation's lack of will to pursue MLE is already informative of a certain position that deserves to be further understood. Of greater concern, however, is the support and rejection of specific LoIs by parents from indigenous, minoritised language communities (I use the term 'parents' generically to refer to the primary care-givers of children and therefore, those responsible for making choices about children's education). Understanding parents' preferences is important for at least two reasons. First, as gatekeepers to their children's education, they are able to drive both change (through action) and status quo (through acquiescence). Second, where their preferences are tied to ideological beliefs which require their languages to have low status, the conditions are created where the victims of inequality contribute notably to their own social exclusion. Both of these reasons are matters of power, the difference being in who wields it; the former has to do with agency and the latter has to do with hegemony.

A knowledge gap has long existed whereby little is known about how parents in minoritised, rural, indigenous communities conceptualise language-in-education, especially where their own languages have yet to be or have only recently been developed. In these contexts, efforts to address language-in-education that disregard parents' beliefs are at risk of ignoring complex, important social realities that weigh heavily upon them and consequently, impact the success or failure of those efforts.

1.1 Rationale

An impressive and growing number of respected international development organisations have put forward key documents in support of MTE. These include DFID (2010), USAID (2011), World Bank (2011), UNESCO (Ouane and Glanz 2010; UNESCO 2013), UNICEF (2007), British Council (Coleman 2010), ActionAid International (2011), Research Triangle Institute (Piper and Miksic 2011), UNDP (2010; 2013), Overseas Development Initiative (Engel 2011), the Swedish International Development Agency (Benson 2001) and Save the Children (Pinnock et al. 2011). Through ongoing research,

these organisations have been providing strong evidence for the benefits of MTE, especially in linguistically diverse contexts where many speakers from minoritised language communities are socially excluded in education. Some of these important benefits include improved literacy skills, a healthier identity and stronger performance in national/international languages (even beyond that of peers instructed in those languages).

The influence of these organisations in the implementation of MTE, especially in low-income countries, however, has been limited. And it is often the case in such contexts where many would argue that MTE is needed the most. Criticism from the academic community has often fallen on the state and its educational authorities with a broad range of accusations that include colonialism (Alidou 2004; Bunyi 1999; S. Yahya-Othman and Batibo 1996), elitism (Kamwangamalu 2013; Lai and Byram 2003; Trudell 2010), globalisation (Brock-Utne 2003; Martin 2005) and a basic disregard for linguistic human rights (Mayans 2006; Musau 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas 2009). Some recent studies (e.g. Ada 2012; Naidoo 2012; J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013; Prošić-Santovac and Radović 2018), however, are beginning to recognise that at the local level, parents' support or rejection of specific LoIs have a profound impact on the implementation of MTE and the success or failure of MLE programs. This study is an important addition to that small, albeit much needed body of research for the way it reveals the deep-seated (and often conflicting) ideologies that parents across similar contexts attach to specific languages.

The specific situation in Tanzania, however, brings a sense of urgency to this research. Uwezo,[4] a five year literacy and numeracy initiative in East Africa, has conducted three comprehensive, nation-wide learning assessments of primary school children in Tanzania (Uwezo 2010; Uwezo 2011; Uwezo 2012). On average, the studies report that across year seven students, 1 in 5 are unable to read a story in Swahili appropriate for year two. Disaggregating this by location further reveals a troubling disparity between urban and rural contexts. In the Dar es Salaam region, 68.9% of students aged 9–13 passed the Swahili reading test whereas in the Mara region, pass rates for the same age group dropped to 24.8% (Uwezo 2012, p.16).[5] Isolating LoI as

[4] ***Uwezo*** is the Swahili word for 'ability'.

[5] In Mbeya Region, where the current study took place, pass rates averaged 35.8%

a single factor in student performance, however, is difficult for at least two reasons. First, obtaining data on Tanzania's ethnolinguistic communities is a challenge since there are legal, political and cultural constraints on collecting such information. Since 1967, ethnic and religious data have been intentionally excluded from official censuses (Tripp 1999).[6]

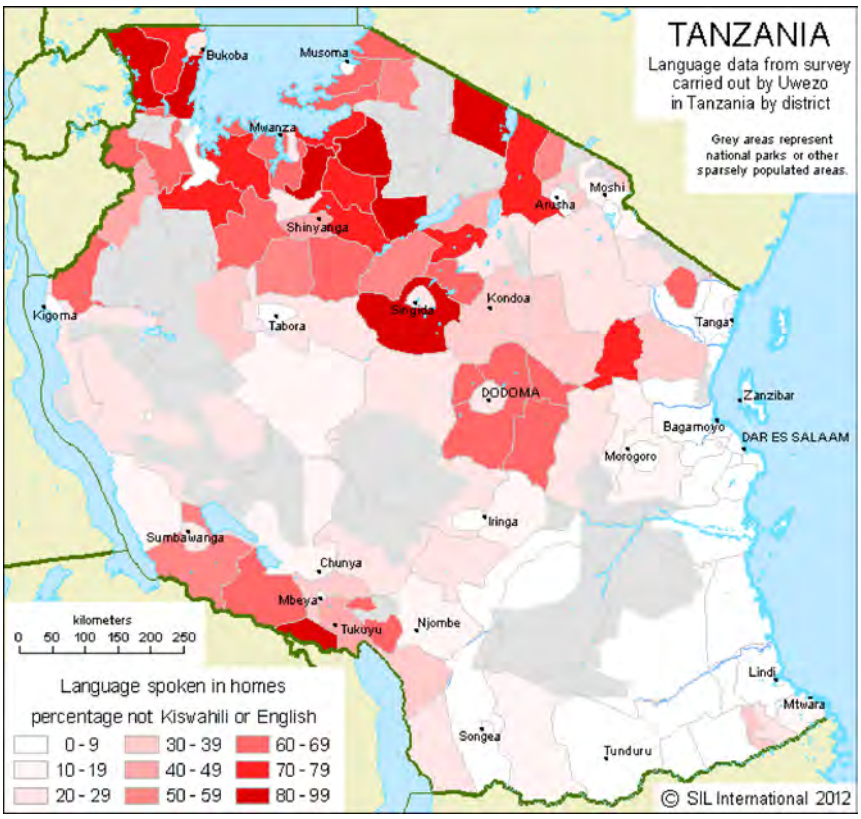

FIGURE 1.1: Indigenous language use in Tanzania by region

Second (and not surprisingly), where such data was indirectly available through the Uwezo (2011) report (see figure 1.1),[7] the use of indigenous languages in the home by primary school children positively correlated with other socio-economic factors known to impact student performance such as

(Uwezo 2012, p.16).

[6]Tripp attributes this practice to Tanzania's early socialist program and its desire to 'eliminate all potential threats to the central government in the form of autonomous institutional and social bases for power.' (1999, p.43).

[7]The 2011 report asked respondents which language was used in the home: 'English', 'Swahili' or 'Other'. Cross-referencing this with location data gives a picture where indigenous languages are being used in the home and to some extent, the degree of that usage. Unfortunately participants were forced to choose just one option so the data is misleading for its portrayal of homes as monolingual.

low income, rural locale and parents with lower levels of education (Uwezo 2011). Despite these confounding factors, the disadvantaged position of minoritised ethnolinguistic communities in Tanzania's rural mainland is clearly highlighted by the Uwezo studies. Surprisingly, though, there is little indication that indigenous language communities are seeking opportunities for children to receive instruction in their own languages but there is evidence that those same communities support increasing English instruction in primary schools (Brock-Utne 2010; Rubagumya 2003). By exploring parents' linguistic beliefs, this study probes what appears to be a contradiction between international organisations' and researchers' unequivocal support for MTE and the 'common sense' of parents within minoritised language communities regarding the LoI from which their children will benefit most.

The quality of education among indigenous communities is poor and evidence points to LoI as a contributing factor (see Rea-Dickins and Yu 2013), especially in Tanzania's rural communities (see Uwezo 2011, p.6) where the current education program is failing the most people. From a literacy perspective, the curriculum is highly subtractive for children who must make abrupt LoI transitions; first when they enter primary school and again upon entering secondary school (for the small numbers who manage to reach that point). MLE programs that support active bilingualism (Cummins 2017) have the potential to improve not only learning outcomes but also other aspects of well-being, especially those related to identity (Cummins 2000).

But before consideration is given to what may (or may not) improve quality of education for Tanzania's indigenous language communities, it is important to know *what* communities want from language-in-education and *why*. The former is important as, notwithstanding the potential benefits, any language programs that lack community support are unsustainable. But the latter is of greater importance because it may reveal parents are drawing on an insufficient and/or inaccurate knowledge base about language-in-education for the formation of their LoI preferences. And where this is the case, questions of power imbalances need to be addressed and inequalities brought to light.

Personal motivation for this research comes from a desire to see Tanzanian language policy change in ways that would allow for indigenous language

communities to access more LoI options. Over a nine-year period, I worked with SIL International[8] in language development projects across East Africa. Between 2004 and 2009, I was involved in implementing development work for 19 indigenous language communities in Tanzania.[9] During this time, I observed that people deeply valued the documentation of their languages and were highly motivated to produce vernacular materials. Early on, however, it became apparent that realising the educational benefits of language development work in Tanzania was severely hampered by the country's restrictive educational language policies. Without the possibility to implement MLE within school curricula, development efforts in those languages seemed to be for little more than the sake of posterity. But my frustration with the educational authorities was overshadowed by an even greater perplexity with what appeared to be a reluctance on the part of local communities to using their languages in formal education.

Several indigenous language communities, however, have been working with SIL International to establish private, mother tongue literacy programs in the Mbeya, Njombe, Mwanza and Mara regions of Tanzania. Some of these programs operate as nursery schools (commonly known in Swahili as ***chekechea***), which are governed by the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Seniors and Children and as such, fall outside of the language policies of the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Vocational Training. Nursery schools in Tanzania are intended to serve children who have not yet reached the age of 5; however, in rural areas they are often attended by children aged 5–6 years due to a lack of pre-primary programs. This has made it possible to teach basic literacy in the mother tongue to children for 1–2 years immediately prior to their entrance into primary school. The programs provide a unique opportunity in Tanzania to explore parents' beliefs about language-in-education in contexts where both the mother tongue and Swahili are used for instruction just prior to primary school. This study explores the beliefs of parents from the Malila language

[8] SIL International is involved in community-based language development with a goal 'to see people flourishing in community using the languages they value most' (SIL International 2019).

[9] This involved establishing and working with local language committees to carry out training and linguistic research. Key tasks included documenting phonology and grammar, developing orthographies, publishing bi- and trilingual dictionaries and producing literacy resources (both for training and for building up a literature base).

community in Southern Tanzania's Mbeya region where one such program was implemented in 2010.

1.2 Research Aim, Objectives & Questions

Research Aim

The aim of this research is to explore ideological beliefs about language and language learning within the Malila community of Southern Tanzania that give rise to parents' support and rejection of specific LoIs for their primary school-aged children.

Research Objectives

The research aim is accomplished through the following objectives:

1. Review the literature in order to situate the present study contextually, theoretically and methodologically within existing research on parents' LoI preferences.
2. Conduct interviews with Malila parents so as to analyse their discursive practices about language and language learning.
3. Conduct focus groups with Malila parents to identify what valued capabilities they associate with language.
4. Draw out policy recommendations for indigenous language communities in Tanzania.
5. Contribute to the academic body of knowledge on issues related to LoI in early primary education among minoritised, indigenous language communities.

Research Questions

The aim and objectives above have been established as a framework from within which to seek answers to the following research questions among a sample of parents from the Malila language community:

1. What do the discourses that parents attach to specific languages reveal about the way parents value those languages for their children?
2. What discourses reflect and shape parents' ideological thinking about the language learning practices they espouse for their children?
3. What are the valued linguistic capabilities that Malila parents have for their children?
4. What are the potential links between parents' beliefs about languages and language learning, their preferences for specific LoIs, and capability expansion for their children?

The first two questions seek to understand the discursive practices of Malila parents as they relate to language and the role of specific languages in their children's lives. I am interested in how parents use language themselves to construct and maintain certain social realities that figure into their LoI preferences. Following Fairclough (2003), I use the term *discourse* concretely to describe specific ways of talking about (i.e. construing) parts of the world but also abstractly to describe semiosis as a social property of language—one that affords people different ways of acting, representing things and positioning themselves and others. (This is discussed below and further in chapter two.) Of particular interest is identifying assumptions about language and language learning that are working ideologically to sustain power imbalances and inequality. This will be accomplished primarily through interviewing described in the second objective but with the view that discourses simultaneously respond to and engender other discourses, the first objective works to reveal a wider discursive landscape in which Malila parents act and react (whether they are cognizant of it or not).

The third objective attends to the third and fourth questions by providing a basic evaluative framework for critical analysis. Assessing parents' dis-

cursive behaviour related to language and their children's education should not be done without consideration of the kinds of linguistic capabilities they have reason to value. 'Linguistic capabilities' refer to a set of opportunities to be and do things that are uniquely connected to specific languages. The concept is based in Sen's (1999) Capability Approach (CA) and Stroud's (2001; 2004) concept of Linguistic Citizenship; theories which I draw on as a framework for social justice in this study (see below and also in chapter two for more discussion on this). The fourth question also contributes to the fourth objective by identifying areas where policy can provide greater support to and reduce inequality for indigenous language communities.

1.3 Theoretical Overview

This study asks *what is really going* on when parents from an indigenous language community in Tanzania like the Malila either support or reject the use of their language for instruction in formal education. Based on casual observations from personal experience, I could take the position that 'the people have spoken'—there is insufficient interest in MLE, and abandon its pursuit in the Tanzanian context. But I suspect there is *more to the story* and like many others who work with indigenous language communities in post-colonial contexts, I would not be satisfied with that as an appropriate response. Saying things like, 'what is really going on,' and 'more to the story,' is an indication that I lack confidence in the information immediately (i.e. empirically) available to me. It is also an indication that I am confident there is more to be known and that steps can be taken to access this obscured knowledge. This particular position is validated by a critical realist ontology (see Bhaskar 2008), which recognises the presence of independent reality but is critical of peoples' competence to both know and represent it faithfully (Bhaskar 1998). While this could constitute a critical realist's justification for apathy in the pursuit of truth, the assertion requires a metric in order to establish what are *more* faithful versus *less* faithful knowledges and representations of the world. Being that the metric is the extent to which a particular version of reality benefits society (Sayer 1992), apathy capitulates to social justice as the critical realist pursues truth about the world, in part, by challenging social arrangements, especially where there is evidence they

may be improved (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014).

In order to access this deeper, obscured, implicit knowledge and attempt to explain what is really going on, parents' talk about language and language learning was analysed using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), specifically Fairclough' (2009a) Dialectical Relational Approach. With an orientation towards language based in Systemic Functional Linguistics (see Haliday and Matthiessen 2014), CDA treats language as a system of choices that can be exploited for meaning-making in multiple and simultaneous ways. Fairclough (2003) argues texts convey three types of meaning: action, representation and identification. In other words, people can semiotically act in a certain way, present the world in accordance with their beliefs/goals and position themselves and others to suit their communicative purposes. These aspects of meaning in CDA are respectively analysed as 'genre', 'discourse' and 'style'. But the system is not lawless. The production of texts as a part of social events is constrained by established social structures and mediated through accepted social practices. How does this apply to parents' talk about language and LoI? By investigating these different types of meaning and the discursive relationships within the hierarchy of constraints in which they operate, it is possible to identify key beliefs that are required to sustain the current situation (i.e. ideologies). For Fairclough, however, this work is necessarily transdisciplinary for the way it requires researchers to consider the work of texts from the vantage points of multiple disciplines (Fairclough 2005). I found it helpful to bring three other theoretical perspectives into this research.

First, Family Language Policy (FLP) theory (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008; Smith-Christmas 2016b; Curdt-Christiansen 2018) brings another valuable perspective on parents' linguistic beliefs and values by considering how they think about (be it consciously or sub-consciously) long-term language planning for their children. Also, FLP compliments CDA well for the way it recognises that parents hold to both overt (explicit) and covert (implicit) strategies for learning and using different languages within their families/homes. The two theories work well together to answer the first two research questions, especially considering their shared interest in the 'covert' where beliefs, assumptions and ideologies are at work. Lastly, FLP was useful in guiding the selection of data for analysis and providing a goal towards

which analysis should work. This was particularly helpful considering the size of the data set in relation to CDA's explanatory power.[10]

Second, approaching parents' beliefs critically requires a normative scheme so I draw on the CA (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2011) for theories of social justice and quality of education. The CA measures equality in the space of capabilities—the opportunities people have to be and do the things they have reason to value. This is a departure from assessments of equality which are concerned with resources (e.g. money, property) or utility (e.g. happiness, satisfaction). In so doing, it accounts for weaknesses in those metrics by recognising some people are unable to convert their resources into opportunities while others simply adapt their expectations to their circumstances (Elster 1982; Sen 1999) and just 'make the best out of a bad situation' (yet a further justification to look beyond parents' *stated* LoI preferences). Furthermore, the CA privileges those for whom development efforts are intended by recognising their voice as primary in establishing the kinds of capabilities to which they should have access. As such, it has been possible to consider parents' discursive practices against their own valued capabilities.

Third, Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud 2001; Stroud and Heugh 2004) adds a perspective on equality that is more specifically connected to language than what is otherwise a broad concept of social justice within the CA. Linguistic Citizenship constitutes a paradigm shift by reimagining and replacing linguistic rights but treated as a capability in and of itself, it not only addresses a gap in the CA as it relates to linguistic capabilities but it also exposes connections between linguistic identities, social exclusion and poverty. Considering parents' responses through the CA and Linguistic Citizenship perspectives yielded answers to the last two research questions. In chapter six, I build on and elaborate insightful work done by Rubagumya et al. (2011) who propose that Tanzanians occupy different classes or 'tiers' of citizenship based on their linguistic repertoires.

[10] Approximately 37 hours of interview dialogue was recorded and transcribed.

1.4 Methodological Overview

To investigate support and rejection of specific LoIs among parents from indigenous language communities, I reviewed literature that discussed parents' perspectives towards and influences on MTE and MLE. I then carried out a qualitative study with parents from the Malila language community, an ethnic group of approximately 78,000 people who primarily live in the southernmost part of Mbeya District in the Mbeya Region of Tanzania. The location provides the opportunity to engage Malila-speaking parents of primary school-aged children with mixed perspectives: those with children who went directly into primary school, those with children who attended Swahili preschool and those who had enrolled their children in four local Malila nursery-school programs.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 65 parents representing 37 households across 6 villages. When possible, they were interviewed as couples in one-hour conversations about languages, language use, language learning and learning. In addition to the interviews, an initial list of valued linguistic capabilities was elicited through focus groups conducted in the same villages with a total of 63 parents representing 48 households.

Each interview was transcribed and coded anywhere responses could be ideologically linked to discourse. The reviewed literature also took on a role as data in this study for the way in which it contributes to the wider (e.g. global) discursive landscape, so it too was coded in the same way (but analytically kept separate from the interview responses). In choosing what to analyse from the interviews, I followed two systematic approaches that importantly brought focus to the large data set[11] and helped to avoid anecdotalism. First, in order to appreciate how parents conceptualised the languages that mattered most to them (as revealed in the focus group discussions), all references to Malila, Swahili and English that did not use formal language names but rather a different indexical strategy were analysed within their immediate context. This brought out key representational meanings (i.e. discourses) as well as other types of meanings connected to action (i.e. genre)

[11]The interview transcriptions exceeded 600 pages but I only describe the data set as 'large' in relation to my use of CDA as one could spend a lifetime critically analysing that amount of text.

and identification (i.e. style) in connection with those languages. Second, data was selected wherever it provided evidence of a household's FLP and it too was critically analysed for discourse, genre and style. The findings are discussed and modelled as a belief system that affirms and expands on a 'three-tiered citizenship' in Tanzania as proposed by Rubagumya et al. (2011).

Throughout the process of analysis on all of the selected data, consideration was given to parents' valued linguistic capabilities and to the discourses identified in the literature. The former served to identify the extent to which practices were either supportive or detrimental to creating the kind of linguistic opportunities and freedoms parents valued. The latter served to both contextualise and validate this study's findings.

1.5 Thesis Overview

In chapter two, the theoretical perspectives introduced above are presented in more detail with further justification for their application in this study. Chapter three has two main sections. First, a global debate on LoI is traced into the Tanzanian context. Second, literature discussing parents' LoI perspectives in multilingual contexts is reviewed so as to draw out discourses that uphold support and rejection of dominant and non-dominant LoIs as well as to reveal inadequacies in research on parents as it relates to LoI. A discussion of the methodology with considerations of ethics, reflexivity and positionality is presented in chapter four. Chapter five presents the study's findings in three sections. The first deals with the effects of using non-default language labels in discourse. The second presents data supportive of a generic Malila FLP. The third section moves between findings and discussion in order to address parents' responses to the question of most appropriate LoI for their children. Supporting data is given with reflections on the first two sections and the discourses identified in the literature. The findings are discussed in chapter six, which is divided into four sections. The first provides a summary (with parallels drawn from the literature) of how parents present Malila, Swahili and English in discourse. The second puts forward the key elements that constitute an informal Malila FLP. These first two

sections work together to address the first two research questions. In the third section, I present a conceptual framework of beliefs constructed from parents' discursive practices that builds on the three-tiered citizenship proposed by Rubagumya et al. (2011). The fourth section discusses the valued language capabilities elicited in the focus group discussions. These last two sections work together to answer the last two research questions. To conclude, the study's contributions, implications and limitations are discussed in chapter seven.

Chapter 2

A Critical Study in Social Justice

This chapter lays out the philosophical position and theoretical perspectives that informed the study. In the first section, I discuss the merits of approaching the data from the vantage point of a critical realist ontology. This position is foundational to the selection of four theoretical frameworks that largely comprise the study's epistemological approach. These are discussed in the second section. CDA and the CA are two overarching theories that work together as a justification for criticality. I also discuss how theories of FLP and Linguistic Citizenship respectively enhance the work of CDA and the CA through complementary but unique perspectives on ideology and social justice as they relate to language.

The placement of this chapter immediately before the literature review chapter makes key concepts available for that discussion, especially the notion of 'discourse' within Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach to CDA (Fairclough 2009a). Because the literature forms part of the discursive landscape in which this study is situated, I found it valuable to review it through the same perspectives used herein. This allowed me to consider talk about LoI by parents in other similar contexts around the world both consistently and comparatively.

2.1 Philosophical Position: Critical Realism

In this research I take a realist position which holds that realities exist independently of our knowledge of them. But because I am sceptical about the political nature with which reality is construed discursively (and therefore, our ability to know reality objectively), I further position myself and the approach to this research within critical realism. This allows me to not only

question and investigate how reality is represented through discourse but to treat discourse itself as another metaphysical reality that bears on humans in their (re)production of other discourses (Sims-Schouten, Riley and Willig 2007; Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2013).

Implicit in the research aim is the idea that parents from the Malila language community need to re-evaluate their preferences for specific LoIs in light of certain ideologies they have adopted. I argue that they need to be more informed and reconsider how their own language can contribute to improved educational outcomes for their children and lead to capability expansion if it were introduced into the primary school curriculum as part of an MLE program. However, in order to say things like 'more informed' and 'improved', I am taking the stance that parents who do not value their languages for educational purposes are, all things being equal, in a 'less informed' position and are therefore at a greater risk of making 'poor' choices about their children's education. I am also advocating that where these poor choices are happening, the situation needs to change. Four important assumptions are at work here:

1. Parents have beliefs which can vary in accuracy (e.g. beliefs about the relationships between language and language learning).
2. Different beliefs have the potential to give rise to different conditions (in this case preferences and choices).
3. Value judgements can be made about beliefs and the conditions they provoke based on how accurate they are (i.e. beliefs and choices that improve life are better and therefore, more accurate).
4. Where inaccurate beliefs exist, they should be supplanted with beliefs that are more accurate (i.e. more beneficial).

A critical realist perspective upholds each of these four assumptions. First, the idea of accuracy or truthfulness for the critical realist is understood as the approximation of beliefs to reality (Bhaskar 1998). This position draws on a realist ontology but a social constructionist epistemology. It is realist in the sense that critical realists assent to a reality that is independent

of human understanding and it is social constructionist in the sense that it is sceptical about the political nature through which reality is construed discursively (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014).

In the second assumption, critical realists are oriented towards an abductive form of reasoning which seeks to explain not only why certain social phenomena happen but the potential for other (i.e. better) kinds of social phenomena to happen in their place (Sayer 1992). This stands in contrast with a positivist enquiry that is confined to the patterns and predictability of observable events or a social constructionist/interpretivist enquiry that is confined to the texts that people produce. For the critical realist, neither of these positions go deep enough to explain the realities that lead to social phenomena. Going deeper is viewed as possible but only when one accepts i.) that reality is stratified (i.e. there is indeed a 'deeper'); ii.) that reality is both physical and metaphysical; and iii.) that social phenomena normally happen as part of an open system (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.40). For example, in i.), I can experience parents' refusal to embrace MTE but that does not likely tell me enough about what is actually happening in much the same way I do not know if a person who slurs their speech is perhaps intoxicated or having a stroke. To address this, Bhaskar (2008) proposes three levels of reality: the empirical, the actual, and the real. Experiences are located at a surface level: the empirical. Events are located at an intermediary level: the actual. And mechanisms are located at the deepest level: the real. It is within these ontological layers that the purpose of science then 'is to investigate and identify relationships and non-relationships, respectively, between what we experience, what actually happens, and the underlying mechanisms that produce the events in the world' (Danermark 2002, p.21). And while we have access to the empirical, we do not have direct access to the actual or the real; otherwise, science would not be necessary. This is also precisely why

> Critical realism distances itself from both methodological individualism (focus on the actor level) and holism (focus on the collective level), in emphasizing the social as relational and emergent. It is especially critical towards the former, arguing that 'actors' accounts are both corrigible and limited by the existence of unacknowledged conditions, unintended consequences, tacit

> skills and unconscious motivations' (Bhaskar, 1998: xvi). Or, as Archer puts it 'we do not uncover real structures by interviewing people in-depth about them' (1998:199). (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.43)

To return to my example of the person with slurred speech, if I ask them what is wrong they might simply respond, 'I'm fine, just a little tired,' (i.e. an experience of the *empirical*) when they are indeed having a stroke (i.e. an event of the *actual*), which has been provoked by a number things such as a blocked or haemorrhaging artery, a poor diet, lack of exercise, stress, etc. (i.e. mechanisms of the *real*). Similarly, parents offer various reasons as to why they take the positions they do on LoI but as a researcher, I need to investigate not just what is said (i.e. the empirical) but rather, I need to go deeper in order to more fully explain the social phenomena taking place, that is to say, I need to investigate what is happening (i.e. the actual) and make an attempt at exploring the causal mechanisms at work (i.e. the real). In the next chapter, I point to a number of events identified by other researchers that may provide greater insight as to why parents reject MTE such as people who know English getting better jobs, English-medium schools getting better resources, and power being denied to those who speak minoritised languages. These are examples of events that take place in the domain of the actual but still, for the critical realist, further attempts must be made to understand the deeper causal mechanisms that are in place. In this case, theoretical explanations of hegemony, language-acquisition and economics all come into play. It is at this point where the social sciences present a different challenge than the natural sciences (O'Mahoney and Vincent 2014) and my slurred-speech metaphor becomes inadequate. It is also where one encounters what has been stated above in ii.), that reality is both physical and metaphysical or, in other words, that reality cannot be reduced entirely to discourse and one must also recognise that there are non-discursive practices at work such as not enough money to pay for private schooling or policies that forbid teaching in indigenous languages. And while it could be argued that both of the examples just given should be treated as discursive practices, the critical realist would assert the importance of studying them as non-discursive so as to theorise about the relationships between them and other practices that are discursive (Sims-Schouten, Riley and Willig 2007). It also becomes

important, then, to appreciate the speculative nature of truth claims made within a critical realist philosophy of science:

> Critical realism posits that there is a relationship between deep material and social structures that are not object-like and concrete and that are, therefore, not directly accessible to the researcher. They can only be known through the phenomena that they generate, that is to say, their presence can only be deduced from the processes and experiences which they have made possible. The relationship between these structures and the phenomena they generate is by no means direct, linear or causal; rather, structures engender generative mechanisms that interact in a dynamic and dialectical way with each other and that hold many more potentialities than could ever be realised at any one time. *This means that our attempts to identify and understand deep structures will remain just that—attempts.* (Sims-Schouten, Riley and Willig 2007, p.105, emphasis mine)

Going deeper also means exploring, as stated in iii.) above, the multiplicity of layered and inseparable factors that enable or inhibit the activation of mechanisms of the real. Bhaskar insists that any governing laws proposed in science will not hold up in what he calls 'open systems' (2008, p.2). There are simply too many powers at work in the real world for us to take conclusions from experiments conducted in closed systems (i.e. laboratories) as laws that operate with any kind of regularity on social phenomena. For this reason, Bhaskar prefers the term 'tendencies' rather than laws (2008, p.7) and describes the consequences of this on the social sciences as 'immediately liberating. For such sciences deal in necessarily open systems, where positivism's instrumentalist-predictive-manipulative approach to phenomena is completely out of place' (Bhaskar 1991, p.141). I agree that this is unfettering for me as a researcher in that it frees me to draw plausible connections between the ontological strata as well as between the discursive and the non-discursive realities that exist at each level. This, if done well, can result in very useful explanations about the research problem and the social phenomena in question.

Returning then to the four key assumptions of the research aim, the third has to do with assessing the accuracy of parents' beliefs and making value

judgements about them. A critical realist position asserts no privileged claim to the truth but it is in search of better explanations about the world. Sayer suggests that 'truth might better be understood as "practical adequacy", that is in terms of the extent to which it generates expectations about the world and about results of our actions which are realized' (2000, p.43). This is a helpful way to establish the importance of explanations to at least be in some alignment with our experiences and rid ourselves of those which are not. Bhaskar accepts 'epistemic relativism'—that we can only know reality through discursive practices but he does not accept that it infers 'judgemental relativism'—that we cannot prefer one explanation over another (Bhaskar 2009, p.48–49). Collier (1994) suggests the fact that theories are in competition with one another is just another kind of proof that there are both transitive (our knowledge of things) and intransitive (the things themselves) objects of science.

In order to decide which set of explanations are better when digging into the matter of LoI and MTE, I use abductive reasoning to demonstrate the tendencies that some discourses have, over others, to improve the quality of life for the research participants. In determining what constitutes 'quality of life', this study takes the position that it is the people for whom quality of life is sought who must ultimately define the kinds of opportunities and achievements they have reason to value. This will be discussed further below from within the perspective of the capability approach.

Lastly, it follows that a fourth key assumption in the research aim is the possibility to suggest and advocate for change—change that minimally involves the adoption of better discourses. For Sayer 'the point of all science, indeed all learning and reflection, is to change and develop our understandings and reduce illusion' (1992, p.252). Where illusions, in and of themselves, have led to enslavement, their displacement by more accurate beliefs is emancipatory (Collier 1998). Part of the impetus for this research is a growing concern that not only parents but many people in minoritised language communities need to embrace better, healthier discourses about their languages.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives

2.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Having established that discourse is the phenomena under consideration in this study and with the adoption of a critical realist position, I acknowledge that discursive practices exist in a stratified ontology as an empirical 'surface' reality that simultaneously reveals and obscures other, deeper realities which are responsible for engendering certain social behaviour, including discourse itself. There is, however, no direct empirical access to these deeper realities (i.e. domains of the 'actual' and the 'real') but they can be studied through their effects on discourse. One challenge this poses for the critical realist is that discourses are viewed as independent realities from the realities that produced them and as such, can reflect those realities in very different ways—if at all. It therefore becomes essential to study discourse within an analytical framework that has the explanatory power to demonstrate the relationships between certain discourses and the deeper realities that give rise to them.

Fairclough (2013a) has established a dialectical-relational model of how discursive practices shape and sustain the social world; how the semiotic interacts with itself and with the non-semiotic to establish a hierarchy of 'social events', 'social practices' and ultimately 'social structures'. The model draws on a realist ontology 'which sees both concrete social events and abstract social structures as part of social reality' (Fairclough 2013f, p.101). I will not attempt to rehearse the whole theory here but I highlight its basic tenets and explain why it figures centrally in this study.

At any moment in any place there is a vast range of possible social events that could occur among people. And yet, humans are intensely selective in how they interact with others and the world around them. Fairclough (2003) suggests that the entire range of possible social events is defined by social structures (i.e. abstract but relatively stable systems such as language, economies, social classes, kinship, etc.). What is socially possible, however, is quite different from what is socially appropriate; furthermore, something deemed appropriate in one context may well be inappropriate in another. Note that the term 'appropriate' here should not be limited to things like

manners and politeness as it is far more consuming. It should, instead, be seen as an alignment with established ways of acting, representing certain realities and identifying oneself and others (see van Dijk 2011). It would seem then that the broad range of possible social events becomes highly constrained by the specific contexts in which they occur. But contexts do not set rules, people do and people are constantly challenging and changing the rules. Fairclough cautions against viewing appropriateness as a static condition because it

> is not only idealising and simplifying, it is also falsifying: it has the effect of making contestation and struggle invisible. Yet contestation and struggle are, I would argue, the absolutely fundamental processes out of which speech communities are shaped and transformed. A 'synchronic state' from this point of view freezes a complex array of processes, and flattens out important distinctions in relative degrees of stability between different parts of such a 'state', distinctions which are connected to the multiplicity of different time-scales or 'periodicities' over which changes occur. (Fairclough 1992c, p.48)

Contestations over social appropriateness, in this approach, work to produce 'social practices' (2003, p.23). They are what mediate between what is semiotically possible within social structures and how texts are actually constructed in social events. 'Examples of social practices include business meetings, religious services, birthday parties, and so on' (M. Bloor and T. Bloor 2007, p.8). One way of conceptualising the hierarchy is represented in figure 2.1.

In this model, social events are the most concrete but the least stable (i.e. they vary the most). Social structures are the most stable but also the most abstract. Social practices fall in between structures and events as a social filter that is constantly being negotiated. The elements that comprise these 'levels' also vary as to their linguistic nature so Fairclough distinguishes between the semiotic and the non-semiotic at each level. For example, the social event of farming would not involve meaning-making to the same extent as testifying in court. The semiotic dimension of social structures is language(s) in its broadest sense—semiotic systems—or put another way, 'what is semiotically possible' (Fairclough 2013f, p.101). The

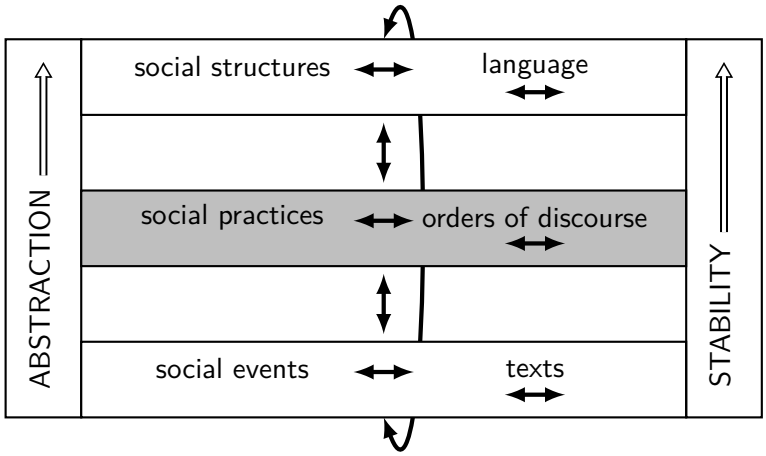

FIGURE 2.1: Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Model of Discourse (Foster 2013b, p.8)

semiotic dimension of social events are texts and the term 'text' is used broadly to describe anything spoken, written or signed. It is also multimodal so can include things like pictures and videos (see Machin and Mayr 2012).

The semiotic dimension of social practices is comprised of 'orders of discourse', a term Fairclough borrows from Michel Foucault but redefines for CDA (Fairclough 2003). They are of particular interest in CDA because of the way they 'constitute the social structuring of semiotic variation or difference' (Fairclough 2013f, p.101). An 'order of discourse' is described as

> a specific configuration of discourses, genres, and styles . . . , which define a distinctive meaning potential, or, to put it somewhat differently, which constitute distinctive resources for meaning-making in texts. The relationship between what is semiotically possible (as defined by semiotic systems) and the actual semiotic features of texts is mediated by orders of discourse as filtering mechanisms which select certain possibilities but not others. (Fairclough 2013f, p.101)

Social practices and their orders of discourse are what constitute the differences in social interactions one might observe in say a classroom versus a bar, or a market. It needs to be stressed, however, that this is not a fixed system and 'transgressions' of the 'rules' can both reflect and result in social change. This is the dialectical nature of Fairclough's approach to CDA. Elements both within and between the levels can be in contestation at any given time but the potential for producing change becomes more challenging as one moves from social events to practices and ultimately to structures—the most resistant to change. Furthermore, analysing texts within this model is necessarily transdisciplinary as it requires the researcher to explore the dialectical nature between the semiotic and non-semiotic elements as well as between the social levels (see Fairclough 2000). In figure 2.1, the black arrows illustrate all of the possible dialectical relationships. In this study, I am particularly interested in the way texts both shape and are shaped by orders of discourse. As such, social practices are constantly being both reinforced and renegotiated.

Above, Fairclough's description of orders of discourse as 'a specific configuration of discourses, genres, and styles' is significant. In working with texts, this particular approach to CDA reveals its connection to systemic functional linguistics (see Haliday and Matthiessen 2014), which 'is profoundly concerned with the relationship between language and other elements and aspects of social life, and its approach to the linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts' (Fairclough 2003, p.5). In systemic functional linguistics, three metafunctions of language are purported to work simultaneously in semiosis: the ideational metafunction has to do with how people make sense of their experiences through language and the different categories it provides; the interpersonal metafunction describes how meaning-making necessarily involves an audience and the manner in which people are positioned textually; the textual metafunction is the capacity that language provides to organise ideas in coherent and cohesive ways (Haliday and Matthiessen 2014, p.30–31). Fairclough reorganises these metafunctions into 'three major types of meaning' in texts that elaborate 'ways of acting, ways of representing' and 'ways of being' or more formally: action, representation and identification (Fairclough 2003, p.27). These three types of meaning emerge in discourse respectively as 'genre', 'discourse' and

'style'. Genres are particular ways of acting. When people communicate, they are always *doing* something. They are informing, reprimanding, refuting, politicizing, instructing, rejecting, etc. Genres in this sense can be applied broadly to what it is that people are trying to accomplish when they create texts. Discourses are the ways in which people construe parts of the world. For example, 'incarceration' and 'rehabilitation' are different ways people can construe the same social activity. Similarly, 'disadvantaged youths' and 'thugs' are both ways to construe one group of people. These paradigmatic relations in texts are the focus in systemic functional linguistics and in CDA 'they draw attention to relations between what is actually present and what might have been present but is not—"significant absences"' (Fairclough 2003, p.37). Neo-liberalism, Marxism and globalisation are also examples of discourses—ways of construing certain ideologies. Lastly, styles refer to how people construe themselves (and therefore, others) in a given text. For example an analysis of my talk as an interviewer would reveal different textual characteristics than that of my talk as a student. Of course I could adopt either of these styles in an interview or a classroom with interesting results. Whatever the case, CDA is able to reveal these choices, postulate as to their social effects and give impetus to probe deeper matters of causation.

The terms discourse, genre and style can be confusing since they are used differently in other linguistic domains. Compounding that is Fairclough's dual use of the term 'discourse'. In the way that I have just explained it, it is used as a count noun to describe specific discourses but as an abstract noun it generally describes language use and all forms of semiosis in social life (Fairclough 1992b; Fairclough 2003) and so is inclusive of genres, discourses (the count noun) and styles. I follow this practice by indicating the count noun through articles, demonstrative pronouns and plural forms (e.g. '*a* discourse of . . . ' or '*these* discours*es* demonstrate that . . . ') when referring to discourses as specific ways of representing specific realities but the unmodified, abstract form, 'discourse' when talking more generally about language and semiosis in relation to social life.

Returning then to the statement that orders of discourse are 'a specific configuration of discourses, genres, and styles' and taking the position that they have a mediating role as social practices on social events (and texts), CDA becomes attractive

> for its ability to make connections between the concrete social event and more abstract social practices by asking, which genres, discourses, and styles are drawn upon here, and how are the different genres, discourses and styles articulated together in the text? (Fairclough 2003, p.28)

This highlights the relational aspect of this particular approach in that it is not focused on entities or people as isolated objects but rather on the social relationships between them. In the context of this study, it allows me to create a social event (e.g. an interview), talk with parents about language-in-education and analyse their discursive actions, how they construe certain aspects of social reality (e.g. those that relate to LoI) and how they construe themselves, their children and others. In doing so, they may be drawing upon (or contributing to) discursive practices that constitute orders of discourse. Where that is the case, some important questions need to be asked. First, however, a distinction must be made between the notions of construal and construction. Fairclough's preference for 'construing' reality is situated in his critical realist inclinations and his rejection of social constructionism, especially in its extreme forms where all reality is reduced to discourse. A perspective of construing reality holds that we 'grasp' at the world *with* language rather than construct it *in* language (see Sayer 2000; Fairclough 2009b). By contrast, construction in CDA, is viewed as the 'material effects of construals' (Fairclough 2013d, p.216); however, the possibility for construals to change our constructions of the world 'depends upon various contextual factors—including the way social reality already is, who is construing it, and so forth' (Fairclough 2003, p.8).

As parents construe social realities that bear on LoI through their discursive practices, those construals can be evaluated in terms of i.) their prevalence (or force) in society; ii.) their source and how different groups are impacted by them; and iii.) the extent to which they are (or their potential for) doing ideological work. This study is primarily focused on iii.) but makes some conjectures about i.) and ii.) from the data.

Shared knowledge about the world is foundational for a society to communicate as it constitutes the 'Common Ground that enables mutual understanding and debate, even among ideological opponents who may disagree

about everything else' (van Dijk 2011, p.385). Common ground also serves as the space where people who create messages can leave implicit information and assumptions unstated and often unchecked. For example, consider the following statement in the context of a socially excluded but indigenous language community where very little, if any, English is spoken: 'Using English for instruction at the outset of primary school will help my child to learn it better.' Such a statement makes assumptions about how languages are learned, the role of primary school and a need (or desire, value, interest, etc.) to know English.

In a classic Gramscian view of hegemony, power is established and maintained not only through force but also, and more effectively, through consent (Gramsci 1971). For Fairclough, achieving this requires 'the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this "common ground", which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology' (Fairclough 2003, p.55). Domination in this view becomes a way of establishing shared representations of the world that are in the interest of one group and naturalising them so that they 'come to appear as merely a transparent reflection of some "reality" which is given in the same way to all' (Fairclough 2013b, p.67).

This does not mean, however, that there is a direct correspondence between ideology and discourse. They are comprised of different elements and ideologies are more abstract whereas discourses are more concrete (i.e. in their semiotic form). Furthermore, ideologies can not only engender entire discourses, parts of discourses or competing discourses but they can also vary greatly in their transparency within texts. Nonetheless,

> Few data are better to study ideologies than text and talk, because it is largely through discourse and other semiotic messages, rather than by other ideological practices, that the contents of ideologies can be explicitly *articulated*, *justified* or *explained*, e.g., by argumentation, narration or exposition. (van Dijk 2011, p.387, emphasis in original)

This study's critical orientation towards discourse is largely a focus on relations of power. It is an attempt to not only understand parents' beliefs about language-in-education but more importantly, the extent to which the

beliefs they hold are creating, sustaining or changing relations of power. Beliefs that can be shown to influence power in this way are ideologies and texts that express such beliefs can be said to be doing ideological work (Fairclough 2003). The concern is that where people are in unbalanced relations of power that disadvantage them, they might unknowingly adopt and perpetuate beliefs about the world that sustain the very social structures and practices which marginalise them.

Ideologies, Beliefs, Assumptions and Attitudes

Keeping the terminology clear is not always a straight forward task and neither time nor space permit me to provide a treatise on what is precisely indexed by terms like ideology, beliefs, assumptions and attitudes but it is important to use them consistently and keep them separate where they clearly differ.

I follow Fairclough's description of 'ideology' as 'representations of aspects of the world which can be shown to contribute to establishing, maintaining and changing social relations of power, domination and exploitation' (Fairclough 2003, p.9). This attention to the function of ideologies in discourse is a departure from more conventional definitions that focus on the content and structure of ideologies. I would also underscore that in order for ideologies to be effective, they cannot be held individually but rather shared across groups, communities, societies, etc. Ideologies need subscribers to achieve results.

I use the term 'beliefs' to capture anything that people hold to be true and 'belief systems' to describe a nexus of beliefs that work together. When beliefs and belief systems serve the interests and identities of social groupings (e.g. neoliberals, feminists, environmentalists, conservatives, etc.) they are ideological. 'Ideologies are, first of all, *belief systems*' (van Dijk 2011, p.382, emphasis in original); however, not all beliefs are ideological.

In keeping with Fairclough's dialectical relational approach to CDA (2003), I interpret 'assumptions' against a background of dialogicality and intertextuality or in simpler terms, the extent to which a text is open to

dialogue versus being closed. The difference is how representations of reality are given. For example, texts such as research papers are expected to invite dialogue and they do so by being transparent in the way their representations are attributed to sources and by bringing out a wide range of perspectives. On the other hand, texts that do not invite dialogue conceal representations and sources by taking them for granted or 'assuming' them. This leaves them unavailable for evaluation and dialogue as can be seen in the example above about English instruction in primary school.

Fairclough uses the term 'attitudes' frequently and often in conjunction with 'beliefs' but does not offer a discussion of what attitudes specifically represent. It is, however, clear that they are subject to the causal powers of discourse and construing reality in certain ways can have constructive, transformative effects on them (Fairclough 2013d; Fairclough 2013c). I would argue that attitudes are more concrete and directly accessible than ideologies through combinations of emotions, actions and texts. This view is supported by van Dijk's description of attitudes as, 'ideologically-based belief clusters about *specific social issues*, such as abortion, euthanasia, immigration, pollution, freedom of speech and the press . . . ' and adds that they 'are more directly applicable in the ideological control of discourse and other social practices than the abstract ideologies on which they are based' (p.389, emphasis in original). Attitudes in this study then, are understood as specific positions (i.e. stances) on matters related to language-in-education (e.g. LoI) that are contextually defined.

Discursive Landscapes

A view of social events through CDA brings into perspective the complexity and power of discourse as well as its dynamic nature across fields that are constantly being renegotiated. To describe this ever-evolving network of ways of construing reality and their causal effects on social events, a growing number of CDA practitioners are using the term 'discursive landscapes' (e.g. Osgood 2009; Shabazz 2015; Stewart, Pitts and Osborne 2010; A. Törnberg and P. Törnberg 2016; Vollmer and Karakayali 2017). I take up the concept as well as an important recognition that all semiosis takes place within a broad and sophisticated semiotic context. When I ask a rural farmer in

southern Tanzania from the Malila language community what language(s) their children should be instructed in and without hesitation, they respond, 'English,' I can do one of two things. Having confidently received the answer to my question, I can simply move on to other matters or, I can inquire about the nature of that response and what, if any, causal powers have contributed to it. Perhaps another way of stating it is to say that I can locate the answer in something larger than the individual who provided it. Furthermore, by recognising there is a discursive landscape within which the statement was made and that it has, in some way, contributed to the response, I can draw the logical conclusion (through deduction) that in a different discursive landscape (or by altering the existing one), a different response might have been (or could be) provided.

This routine of drawing on and contributing to existing discourses from the discursive landscape in which we are situated is 'partly a matter of **intertextuality**—how texts draw upon, incorporate, **recontextualize** and dialogue with other texts. It is also partly a matter of the assumptions and presuppositions people make when they speak or write' (Fairclough 2003, p.17, emphasis in original). A discursive landscape further provides the space and resources for people to mix genres, discourses and styles in ways that allow them to adapt messages for their audiences—a process described as 'interdiscursivity' (Fairclough 2003, p.35). For example, Fairclough discusses how in recent decades this has facilitated greater informality and the conversationalisation of previously formal discourses in public spheres (Fairclough 1992a). He views this as 'a tendency ... in the most developed liberal societies for relations of power and authority to become more implicit' (Fairclough 2003, p.224).

Understanding the discursive landscape in the present study is a matter of identifying specific discourses and ideologies that weigh (either directly or indirectly) on parents' formation of attitudes or preferences towards specific languages and language learning practices. But if taken as one's semiotic context, what is the scope of a discursive landscape and how far is its reach in terms of influence or the kinds of discourses that are available to be drawn upon? For example, it is not uncommon for speakers of indigenous languages, which have not yet (or have only recently) been developed, to take the ideological position that their languages are inadequate for instruction

because they lack certain vocabulary (a discourse I shall discuss in the next chapter as *lexical inadequacy*). But where did this discourse originate? Does it only have a local presence or is it a national or even international discourse? How long has it existed in public discourse? Could its origins be traced back to colonial perspectives? Who upholds the discourse and has it been operationalised in ways to protect people from what is, in their perception, a problem for education? I reported in the introduction that Tanzania's indigenous languages are proscribed in the national education policy from being used for instruction but why? What discourses influence policy-makers? Also, what discourses are rejected in a discursive landscape and which ones seem to be absent? For example, why does a large international community strongly advocate for MTE while those for whom they argue it will benefit often reject it?

I take the position that no limits should be imposed upon discursive landscapes and further argue that information technology has facilitated an unprecedented capacity in history for people to engage in social events that can be situated in global discursive landscapes. This has led me to take an approach in the literature review that seeks to include academic voices in the discursive landscape of the participants. It may not be possible to demonstrate intertextuality at this level (i.e. no parents in this study relayed information they obtained directly from academic publications) but that does not mean these connections do not exist. In this sense, the literature becomes part of the data and it should, at least to some extent, be treated as such. In section 3.2, I survey 63 publications that include reports on parents' preferences both for and against certain LoIs. It is not feasible to conduct an in-depth analysis (as I did with the interview data); however, it is possible to identify the discourses that parents in similar contexts around the world offer as reasons for their specific LoI preferences.

CDA as a Transdisciplinary and Emancipatory Project

Two further aspects of CDA need to be highlighted for the way they inform this study. First, Fairclough has indicated that his approach has 'three basic properties: it is relational, it is dialectical, and it is transdisciplinary' (Fairclough 2013d, p.15). I have discussed the relational and dialectical

aspects above so turn now to the matter of transdisciplinarity. Consider the following:

> What then is CDA analysis *of*? It is not analysis of discourse 'in itself' as one might take it to be, but analysis of dialectical *relations between* discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the 'internal relations' of discourse. And since analysis of such relations cuts across conventional boundaries between disciplines (linguistics, politics, sociology and so forth), CDA is an interdisciplinary form of analysis, or as I shall prefer to call it a *transdisciplinary* form. (Fairclough 2013d, p.17, emphasis in original)

The data used for this study is text, all in the form of talk. And yet the research aim is concerned with inequality, quality of education and well-being. Connections between text and ideology can be made through CDA but I turn to three other social theories to further investigate relationships between ideology and inequality, quality of education and well-being. I make use of the Capability Approach (see Sen 1999) for the way it informs the relationship between parents' discursive practices and their ability to do and be things that they deeply value. This speaks to matters of inequality and quality of education for minoritised language communities. A theory of Family Language Policy (see Schiffman 1996) informs the relationship between parents' beliefs about language learning and the kinds of language learning practices which they aspire towards for their children. This speaks to notions of common sense and hegemonic structures. Lastly, Linguistic Citizenship (see Stroud 2001), as an alternative to theories of linguistic rights, informs the relationship between the linguistic identities people assume and the ability of indigenous language minorities to democratically participate in defining and planning for their languages. Each of these theories will be further elaborated below.

Working in a transdisciplinary way, however, presents challenges for establishing a precise and consistent methodology in CDA, something that Chouliaraki and Fairclough tend to resist preferring to defend 'a purposefully porous and integrationist orientation to research methodology that privileges *trans*-disciplinarity over rigour' (2010, p.1218, emphasis in original). I would characterise CDA as being rich in investigative tools and applaud its ability

to reveal relationships between linguistic categories (i.e. as choices) and the ideologies that give rise to their use in discourse; however, deciding how to operationalise CDA in the context of this study posed challenges. These were mostly connected to exacting the critical power of CDA on politically marginalised and socio-economically disadvantaged farmers as they talked about their children's education (I address this further in section 4.4.2 as part of a discussion on positionality).

A second aspect of CDA that informs this study lies in its aspiration 'to produce knowledge which can lead to emancipatory change' (Fairclough 2003, p.209). Sayer (2000) argues that although social realities are both preconstructed for and dependent upon human activity, humans do not necessarily have accurate knowledge of them. Instead they are construed by different people in different places at different times. These construals of social reality are carried out semiotically through discourse and when such discourses are systemically reproduced, they can become part of social knowledge that is accepted as common sense (Fairclough 2001). Social science conducted in a critical vein is

> redundant if it fails to go beyond a common-sense understanding of the world. Since social science includes common sense among its objects, it cannot avoid a critical relationship with it, for in seeking to understand popular consciousness, *as it is*, in examining what is normally unexamined, we cannot help but become aware of its illusions. (Sayer 1992, p.39, emphasis in original)

Addressing social problems is a key departure for CDA from approaches in discourse analysis that are focused on description and structures. 'Beginning with a social problem rather than the more conventional "research question" accords with the critical intent of this approach' (Fairclough 2003, p.209). Fairclough, however, cautions against privileging oneself from a critical position that justifies and further encourages 'top-down interventions' that are not sensitive to 'the full social and cultural import of a change in discursive practices, and therefore its effect upon power relations and power struggle' for those concerned (2013e, p.677). I work to mitigate this tendency by evaluating parents' discursive practices against their own valued capabilities, which I discuss below in section 2.2.3. In the next section I explain how FLP

was used in conjunction with CDA to more adequately address the first two research questions (see section 1.2).

2.2.2 Family Language Policy

In order to further understand parents' support and rejection of specific LoIs, I looked to FLP theory as a perspective from which to explore parents' long term linguistic objectives for their children. This is based on the assumption that parents have a 'bigger picture' in mind which influences their support or rejection of a given LoI at a specific moment (e.g. a particular child at a certain point in their education). In addition to identifying beliefs about languages and language learning, an FLP perspective seeks to understand ways in which those beliefs get operationalised in household language planning.

Schiffman (1996) distinguishes between two types of language policies—those that are *overt* and those that are *covert*. The former describes policies that are formal, official and explicit whereas the latter describes those which are informal, unofficial and unstated. His concern is with researchers and policy-makers who take overt policies at 'face value' but 'ignore what actually happens down on the ground, in the field, at the grass-roots level, etc.' (1996, p.13)

The growing field of FLP has recognised this gap between policy and practice and is seeking to address it by expanding

> our current conception of 'language policy' to include not only the sphere of official state actions, but also decisions made at the community and family level. Such decisions are often implicit and unconscious, but they are no less crucial to determining the speed and direction of language shift. In this regard we may refer to *family language policy* as an important area for both research and activism. (Luykx 2003, p.39)

These 'implicit and unconscious' decisions referred to by Luykx are undoubtedly driven by belief systems and ideologies that reflect 'broader societal attitudes and ideologies about both language(s) and parenting' (King,

Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008, p.907). Along this same line of thinking, Smith-Christmas further elaborates FLP as

> the study of the role that language beliefs play in these decision-making processes (cf. Okita, 2002, p. 3); how these beliefs are situated within a wider sociocultural system; and how the beliefs and the way in which they are situated play out at the level of language practices in the family. In turn, FLP also examines how these language practices contribute to (or fail to contribute to) the child's development in the minority language. (2016a, p.12)

Research in FLP is broadly interested in three areas: language ideology, language practices and language management (Curdt-Christiansen 2018). This study is primarily concerned with language ideology and its role in decision-making processes. It involves exploring how specific languages are conceptualised as well as how language learning is both viewed and planned for. Having a shared interest in identifying implicit ideologies, FLP and CDA are complementary frameworks with which I can approach the data. In chapter four, I explain how this is accomplished through interviewing and CDA. To study the areas of language practices and management within an FLP framework, I would prefer to work with ethnographic data on actual, 'day-to-day' linguistic behaviour; however, this was too challenging logistically to work into the current study. That being said, talk about these activities is considered discursively.

As a theoretical framework, FLP is a contributes to this research by recognising that parents have a plan—be it conscious or not. FLP theory identifies the proverbial 'tip of the iceberg' where all of the causal mechanisms at play around LoI matters result in some kind of intent on the part of parents. As such, FLP is responsible for real social events, especially the support and rejection of certain LoIs. I would further argue that it is at the intersection of FLP and LoI where MTE efforts either succeed or fail to garner support from local communities—the principle concern in this study. In this sense, FLP also acts as a guide and in some ways, a set of boundaries to keep the study focused on the kinds of ideologies that are relevant to the research aim.

2.2.3 The Capability Approach

Above, I argued from a critical realist position that parents' empirical support or rejection of specific LoIs is a result of their beliefs. And because beliefs vary in accuracy (or truthfulness), the social phenomena they engender will also vary in the overall impact they have on peoples' lives—inaccurate beliefs leading to negative social arrangements and accurate beliefs leading to positive ones. Critical realists then, seek to expose inaccurate beliefs so they can be replaced with more accurate ones based on the good they do for society. I have further argued that in order to identify the beliefs at work in an LoI debate, support and rejection of LoIs should be studied in their semiotic forms. Support and rejection can take place through different modalities—some more semiotic and some less. For example, one could study enrolment trends at two primary schools with different LoIs in the same village but this would reveal very little about the specific beliefs that resulted in those trends. Studying support and rejection in its semiotic form as discourse within a CDA framework is a strategy to link parents' LoI attitudes to beliefs and ultimately ideologies and relations of power. The point I want to make is that by anchoring this study's critical position in critical realism and CDA, it inherits a strong orientation towards social justice. This has, of course, been intentional in that it serves the second half of the research aim; however, neither critical realism nor CDA provide an adequate theory for conceptualising and evaluating social justice or ways to view specific social concerns.

The literature offers a myriad of definitions of social justice. Consider the following which describes it 'broadly' as

> a condition whereby all people are afforded fair opportunities to enjoy the benefits of society. ... When arbitrary distinctions are made between individuals and groups in the assigning of basic rights, responsibilities, and opportunities, conditions of social justice are greatly diminished; when all members of society are given equal freedom to pursue their desired ends, social justice can potentially flourish. (Given 2008, p.822)

Most descriptions of social justice generally follow this pattern of describing

it as a condition or state with attributes of fairness and/or equality. I find Given's definition above to be more progressive for the way it emphasises equality in spaces of 'opportunities' and 'responsibilities' as well as for including the 'freedom to pursue' 'desired ends' rather than myopic views of social justice as equal access (e.g. to basic rights and services); however, it falls short on addressing relations of power and subtly affirms detrimental ones. This is a fitting opportunity to demonstrate CDA as I came to this conclusion by applying it to the definition above. A quick analysis of grammatical transitivity in the three statements reveals that social justice is something people are 'afforded', 'assigned' and 'given'. People are construed as recipients of social justice, which in turn is construed as something that is provided to them. As for who provides it, the agents are obscured. The omitted text made mention of social structures playing an important role but the definition positions people as passive recipients of social justice, not as agents who have a role in constituting it or how it is implemented.

An adequate theory of social justice for this study is one that i.) views it as both a process and a condition, ii.) is 'bottom-up', i.e. its [ongoing] design and implementation starts with the individuals for whom it is sought, iii.) provides a means to assess equality; and iv.) can be applied normatively to social arrangements. The CA addresses each of these interests.

As a framework for evaluating social arrangements (Sen 1995), the CA asks what real opportunities are available to people and what freedoms they have to be and do the things they reasonably value (Sen 2009). The real opportunities available to a given person is understood as their 'capabilities'; what they choose to actually be and do from the capabilities available to them is understood as their 'functionings' (Sen 2008, p.277). In doing this, the CA is able to bring evaluation of equality into a very important space by providing a framework to conceptualise the connection (or disconnection) between the space of resources (e.g. what gets invested into a development project) and the space of utility (i.e. the level of satisfaction or happiness people experience from the goods and services they have access to). This 'new' space, comprised of capabilities and functionings, asks what it is that people are actually able to be and do considering the resources they can access. A significant point of departure for the CA lies in its recognition of individual conversion factors, which ultimately dictate the kinds of capabilities people

can create with the resources/inputs they have (Robeyns 2005). In other words, not everyone is able to convert the same resources into the same capabilities. This sequence of resources–capabilities–functionings–utility has been demonstrated effectively (and somewhat 'famously' within the field) through Sen's illustration of a bicycle (1983) and how it may or may not result in a capability of transportation.

The illustration is effective so I repeat it here but use my own (fictitious) Tanzanian version: A researcher studying basic transportation in a rural village is able to identify that Mama Neema owns a bicycle and so reports that her basic transportation needs have been met. Another researcher might also report after conducting a survey, that Mama Neema responded she was 'very satisfied' with her bicycle so again, her basic transportation needs are ascertained as having been met. These are useful reports but still another researcher investigates the same matter from a perspective of capabilities which prompts them to ask what Mama Neema can be and do in consideration of the bicycle? This reveals it is culturally awkward for women, who typically wear skirts, to operate bicycles so like others, Mama Neema prefers her husband ride the bicycle while she sits sideways on the rear carrier. But the researcher further discovers Mama Neema's husband has not been able to ride the bicycle because of a debilitating disease and likely will not be able to ride it in the future. The researcher concludes that Mama Neema's basic transportation needs should be addressed. The point to make here is neither policy, classrooms, curriculum, teachers (i.e. rights and resources) nor the perceived satisfaction of people (i.e. utility) are completely sufficient metrics for evaluating social arrangements. For this reason, I am wary of normative claims (or the lack thereof as in the case of the bicycle) in research that disregard the valued capabilities of those for whom the claims are being made. This has largely been the case for decades of research conducted on matters pertaining to LoI in Tanzania. In the next chapter I draw attention to a body of research that has been critical of Tanzanian policies for giving primacy to English instruction, especially in secondary school. The academic community both within and without Tanzania has argued strongly for secondary school instruction to be conducted in Swahili, their claims being linked to two key warrants: the desire to abolish a colonial legacy of linguistic imperialism and the efficacy of Swahili instruction for

improving learning outcomes (and benefiting society as a whole). While both concerns are important, a social justice perspective informed by the CA reveals they do not adequately address the important space of capabilities and functionings—a space where 'people' are conceptualised as 'individuals'. Note how the two arguments above are oriented to the state. In early 2015, a new education policy changed the LoI in Tanzanian secondary schools from English to Swahili. Five years later, however, the policy has failed to achieve popular support and is yet to be implemented. I would suggest that the effort has not adequately addressed the felt needs, desires and agency of local communities. It has also ignored key political, economic and educational ideologies fostered in public discourses by the media and entrenched behind pervasive discursive practices among parents.

Because the CA recognises that resources are not the same as capabilities and capabilities must be created from resources by people who vary in their ability to do so, resources are not a productive space in which equality can be evaluated. That is not to say equal access to resources is unimportant—it is; however, as an indicator of equality, resources are substantially inadequate in light of conversion factors. For Sen, 'Human diversity is no secondary complication (to be ignored, or to be introduced "later on"); it is a fundamental aspect of our interest in equality' (Sen 1995). Conversion factors are considered across three domains: personal, social, and environmental. For further discussion of what each set of factors entails and how they are applied see Robeyns (2005) and Walker (2006). So in what space does a CA theory of justice evaluate equality? Sen provides the following:

> In the capability-based assessment of justice, individual claims are not to be assessed in terms of the resources or primary goods the persons respectively hold, but by the freedoms they actually enjoy to choose the lives that they have reason to value. It is this actual freedom that is represented by the person's 'capability' to achieve various alternative combinations of functionings. (Sen 1995, p.81)

The space of capabilities can be characterised as all of the potential functionings an individual can pursue. 'The difference between a capability and functioning is like one between an opportunity to achieve and the actual achievement, between potential and outcome' (Walker 2006, p.165). It is in

this space of capabilities where Sen seeks equality and justice.

In order to evaluate social arrangements within the CA, a relevant list of capabilities must be identified (Nussbaum 2011; Robeyns 2003; Hart 2009; Biggeri et al. 2006); however, any process to that end must also involve the individuals for whom evaluation is taking place (Sen 2005). Identifying the capabilities is connected to people's well-being freedoms. Involving them in that process is connected to people's agency freedoms. Theses two types of freedoms are deeply interrelated but importantly distinguished for the way in which agency can impact well-being both positively and negatively (Sen 1985). In the present study, evaluative statements about parental discourses are made with consideration of capabilities that have been specified by the research participants. I do not argue that this mitigates the potential for bias I bring to bear in analysis but I do argue that it improves the credibility of the study to a far greater degree than if I were to simply pronounce judgement on people's discursive practices without considering how those practices are situated in light of their own valued capabilities.

Tikly and A. Barrett (2011) have further argued the CA's evaluative framework can be applied normatively to educational programs as well as the policies and structures governing them. They contend human capital and human rights approaches have been overly-dominant influences in formulating how quality of education is understood and assessed. Although both approaches have made important contributions, their concern, among others, is with the ontological individualism inherent in these dominant approaches which create blind spots to important contextual factors (e.g. inequalities) that exist in *societies* yet are relevant to quality of education. To close this gap, they call for quality of education to be re-conceptualised through a perspective of social justice informed by the CA. This leads them to (re)define a 'good quality education' as

> education that provides all learners with the capabilities they require to become economically productive, develop sustainable livelihoods, contribute to peaceful and democratic societies and enhance individual well-being. (Tikly and A. Barrett 2011, p.9)

Bringing Sen's notion of capabilities to bear on quality of education would

undoubtedly result in deeper contextualisation of educational programs with increased sensitivity to the needs of socially excluded and/or disadvantaged groups. Certainly, some generic approaches and policies would need to be varied to accommodate unique deficits in conversion factors but this is precisely the point of re-framing educational quality in a social justice framework as defined by the CA. For Tikly and A. Barrett, it expands considerations for quality of education along three dimensions: inclusion, relevance and democracy (2011). Considering LoI against capabilities in this way yields a fresh point of view:

> From a social justice perspective, using a language in which learners are proficient enables them to access the curriculum, i.e. convert resources into outcomes. There is significant evidence that learning in the mother tongue at least in the early years is critical for cognitive development. At the same time, language proficiency is itself a valued capability. A society may decide to value proficiency in a language which is not spoken widely as well as in a national or international language. (Tikly and A. Barrett 2011, p.11)

Two important implications of LoI are brought into light here. First, it can play a role in capability expansion (or suppression) to the extent that it helps (or hinders) students in converting knowledge into opportunities (e.g. capabilities and functionings). And second, LoI choices can support and foster different identities that are uniquely valued by specific groups and communities.

Above, I stipulated that an adequate theory of social justice for this study should meet four criteria. I have since demonstrated that the CA i.) views social justice as both a *process* that insists on democratic participation as well as a *condition* that defines a state of well-being; ii.) deeply values and therefore, prioritises voices of the excluded and/or disadvantaged; iii.) brings an important space into the assessment of equality—the space of capabilities; and iv.) can be applied normatively when it informs how quality of education is conceptualised.

In this study, the CA figures importantly in two ways. First, it establishes an evaluative space against which the data is analysed, ideologies are identified

and imbalances of power are considered. Second, an inventory of the research participants' valued capabilities (see table 6.1) are used to evaluate the extent to which their discursive practices sustain or restrain those capabilities.

2.2.4 Linguistic Citizenship

Above, I committed to a theory of social justice as set out in the CA; however, the CA does not address language specifically as an aspect of social justice (i.e. it does not elaborate specific capabilities connected to language). And although a list of valued language capabilities has been elicited from parents, I would not offer it as something upon which social justice for the Malila community should be conceived since establishing such a list would require wider participation from the community, educational authorities and other relevant stakeholders. The list could provide a good start for such a conversation; however, its purpose here is confined to this study (this will be discussed further in chapter 4).

The CA, early in its development, prompted a debate as to whether or not a fixed list of basic capabilities needed to be established. Nussbaum has suggested a list of ten central capabilities (2003; 2011) describing aspirations towards social justice without any basic sense of what constitutes it as 'hopelessly vague' (Nussbaum 2003, p.47). Sen, however, takes a very contextual view of capabilities and has consistently resisted any kind of 'predetermined canonical list of capabilities, chosen by theorists without any general social discussion or public reasoning' (2004, p.77). I mention this here to point out that although the CA addresses an important gap in our broad understanding of social justice, it results in new gaps when applied to specific domains of social justice such as language. To address this, I turn to Linguistic Citizenship.

Articulated by Stroud (2001) and Stroud and Heugh (2004), Linguistic Citizenship extends the notion of citizenship (i.e. as societal participation) to language and is concerned with equality at the level of agency, thus, repositioning (and redefining) indigenous language communities into active roles, giving leadership to their own language planning. Of course, agency freedoms figure centrally in the CA; however, this particular articulation

of agency in language, when viewed as a valued capability in its own right, reveals egregious inequalities between speakers of 'majority' and 'minority' languages.

Stroud (2001) initially frames his concept of Linguistic Citizenship in Fraser's (1995) matrix of political remedies and offers it as a 'transformative' solution to both the socio-economic and cultural/symbolic injustices faced by indigenous language communities. This is somewhat confusing since transformative solutions are characterised by Fraser as a deconstructive approach that 'blurs group differentiation' (1995, p.87), a point which she sees as potentially problematic for 'indigenous peoples [who] do not seek to put themselves out of business as groups' (p.91). Setting matters of group differentiation aside, I argue that the strength of Fraser's framework for Linguistic Citizenship lies in its distinction of affirmative and transformative political remedies that respectively correct 'inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them' (p.82) on the one hand and those that 'correct inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the underlying generative framework' (p.82) on the other.

Linguistic citizenship is perhaps more easily understood as a reaction to (or retheorisation of) linguistic rights, which historically have had limited success in bringing about social justice for marginalised, indigenous language communities. Stroud (2001) has four contentions with remedies based on linguistic rights: i.) they can lead to preferential treatment of some groups, which in turn, is viewed as unjust by others, ii.) they can exacerbate pre-existing ethnolinguistic divisions, iii.) they have a tendency towards essentialist views of language that ignore de facto multilingual issues and iv.) they have historically been owned and operated by the state and as such are implemented in a top-down fashion that favours national (i.e. versus local) identities. Linguistic citizenship is presented as an alternative way of conceptualising linguistic rights for the way in which it argues for language users to not only hold the primary role in deciding how languages figure into their lives politically, economically and educationally but also what constitutes linguistic equality in policy and practice (Stroud 2001). This is highly deconstructive of the 'generative frameworks' (or 'causal mechanisms' from a critical realist perspective), which give rise to inequality—structures

that linguistic rights work to preserve. In most societies, it would constitute an upheaval of established structures:

> Rather than 'the right to language practices' being something that follows from citizenship, where the specific practices are circumscribed and endorsed by authority, as is the case with human rights and language, a Linguistic Citizenship perspective underscores that sociopolitical rights and obligations should in fact follow from, and be defined by, the representations, practices and ideologies of language and society that circumscribe communities of speakers in their everyday associational networks, or 'sites of mediation'. (Stroud 2001, p.350)

If this statement seems unreasonable, one need only adopt the perspective of policy-makers who do precisely what Stroud is arguing for albeit from their own national/public/official perspective of [privileged] majority language functions.

By applying Stroud's notion of Linguistic Citizenship to the situation in Tanzania, it is possible to identify and link people's language repertoires to certain inequalities they experience in life. This is because Linguistic Citizenship takes into account the extent to which local language communities' interests are being met not only by language policies but also the political processes and structures that give rise to those policies. In doing so it

> addresses the very real materiality of language in minority politics by attending to the fact that linguistic minorities suffer from both structural and valuational discrimination. In other words, the injustices that befall speakers of minority languages are related to the structural position that they have in the politico-economic order at the same time as these injustices are also clearly a reflex of minority speakers' identities *as minority language speakers*, as the social structures that minority speakers are part of create conditions of existence which are both material and discursive. (Stroud 2001, p.351, emphasis in original)

Stroud makes an important connection here between language and inequality, injustice, social exclusion and, by implication, poverty. Social

structures that exclude indigenous languages also exclude the identities connected to those languages resulting in a situation where peoples' citizenship experience varies greatly depending on the kind of identity they assume. This raises the important question of choice as it relates to identity and the extent to which identities can be (re)formed (i.e. how much of one's identity is predetermined versus being negotiated?). I. M. Young (1990) argues 'that one first finds a group identity as given, and then takes it up in a certain way' (p.46). But whether or not one sees themselves as having shaped their own identity versus being born into one (or even worse, 'trapped' in one), the result is the same if that identity is not valued by the governing bodies that regulate citizenship privileges. In this sense, Linguistic Citizenship is critical of the role that majority/official language speakers have in establishing policy based entirely on language practices that are only meaningful to their formal, public perspectives (Stroud 2001; Stroud and Heugh 2004).

Stroud's notion of Linguistic Citizenship complements the CA in at least three ways: both are chiefly concerned with addressing inequality, both are transformative for how they move beyond mere passive affirmations of equality and both place a high value on people's agency for their own self-determination. But where the CA is a more general and complete theory of social justice, Linguistic Citizenship focuses on those aspects of social justice more directly related to language and as such, is more sufficient to conceptualise linguistic capabilities.

2.3 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have laid out a justification through critical realism to approach parents' stated LoI preferences with the view that what parents say is connected to a deeper, complex network of beliefs about language (among other things); what it is, how it is acquired and the value of specific languages for well-being. This view supports the research aim which distinguishes LoI preferences from, and attributes them to beliefs and ideologies. I have also explained how CDA can be applied to parents' talk about language-in-education as a strategy to reveal those beliefs. Additionally, FLP theory compliments the work of CDA by asking how beliefs get operationalised into

language planning at the household level. CDA and FLP work together to answer research questions one and two, which seek to identify the key discourses involved. I also introduced the CA in this chapter as a framework for social justice. Research questions three and four flow from this framework and are concerned with how parents' beliefs, LoI preferences and resulting action/inaction might impact their well-being. Lastly, a theory of Linguistic Citizenship was introduced to better answer research question four by paying special attention to the relationship between capabilities and specific linguistic repertoires.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

To better understand the discursive practises of Malila parents during the interviews, it is necessary to understand the nature of other discursive practices that have played a role in the formation of their beliefs about language and language learning. For example, there are long-standing structures and systems of education into which they were born. Previous generations passed on construals of social realities to them. Their own experiences as children in school impact the thinking they now have about their children. Extended family and friends engage with them and share their experiences, opinions and ideas about language-in-education.

And it would be naive to not look beyond the Malila community for these discourses by assuming that parents' perceptions originated in a vacuum of external influence. The Malila community is not an island, they exist in a larger political context. The current educational program is provided by the government of Tanzania for which the Malila pay in part for the provision of those services. They also trust that others who are qualified in education have been involved in the design of curriculum. From time to time changes are implemented in the way things are done and the Malila community must engage with those changes. And much like parents, the government has also inherited structures from previous regimes, the early days of independence and colonial times. Educational authorities carry out monitoring and evaluation and are constantly negotiating problems in the system and criticism from the press. They also have a future in mind that they are working towards but face various resource limitations such as finances and personnel.

The government does not operate in isolation either. They are interacting with the international community. UNESCO, the World Bank, foreign embassies, international non-governmental organizations and local watchdog

groups are constantly bringing in thinking from other parts of the world. The academic community within and without Tanzania publish research on the issue and researchers vie for opportunities to speak into policy.

It is within the context of this discursive landscape that Malila parents think and talk about language and language learning. Everything said by authorities, researchers and parents are all somehow connected to each other. There are horizontal connections across peers and vertical connections between levels of power. Furthermore connections are both synchronic and polychronic. These connections and interactions constantly generate a dynamic set of discursive behaviours, some more pervasive and ubiquitous than others. One discourse is always in response to another. New discourses arise out of conflicting discourses. They are all part of a discursive dialectic (Fairclough 2003). This literature review cannot possibly capture it all but the aim here is to provide at least a picture of the landscape in broad strokes.

Conceptualising the literature as part of the discursive landscape in which the Malila think and act requires that it too be treated critically as discourse. This provides analytical continuity between the international literature, the literature on Tanzania and the present study. Although practical constraints made it too difficult to apply CDA to the literature with the same rigour as I do to the data gathered from Malila parents, discursive patterns were identified from parents' talk (as it was reported) and a list of discourses compiled that provided a valuable backdrop against which the present study can be evaluated and compared. It also brings an important perspective on a global phenomena where many parents reject instruction in languages with which their children are most familiar yet support instruction in foreign languages with the view that they provide greater benefits.

This review has two main parts. In section 3.1 I explore arguments both for and against MTE to better understand the LoI debate. A negative perspective on MTE from states is also given consideration and the debate is then traced into the Tanzanian context. In section 3.2, following explicit criteria, I select and review publications that discuss parents' preferences for specific LoIs in contexts where higher-status languages are competing with lower-status languages. I start by situating the present research both contextually and methodologically across the publications reviewed. I then identify

and discuss the discursive practices of parents in the same publications and draw out a list of 38 discourses that reflect beliefs about language which provoke various positions on LoI. These include support for local languages, regional languages, languages of wider communication, as well as colonial, foreign and international languages. But while parents' language practices demonstrate value in multiple languages, their discursive practices reveal a strong tendency for their children to be instructed in languages with higher international status. For reference, a list of 23 discourses favouring what I describe as dominant languages of instruction are presented in table 3.4 and a list of 15 discourses favouring non-dominant languages of instruction are presented in table 3.5.

3.1 The Language of Instruction Debate

An LoI debate arises out of the question of which language should be used in the classroom for educating learners. The question may be further delineated to specify which language is the most beneficial in terms of various outcomes for education such as learning, economic opportunity, social status, power, identity, language preservation and revitalisation, etc.

That the mother tongue is the most appropriate medium for educational instruction in the early years has been construed through various discourses which can be generalised into two categories: those which value linguistic rights and those which value educational outcomes. In many parts of the world and especially in Tanzania, however, the arguments presented in these discourses have had little impact as both governments and parents in minoritised, indigenous language communities often reject, sometimes vehemently, the use of their languages in children's education. I discuss both of these positions in 3.1.2 and 3.1.3 respectively but first, discuss my use of the terms 'mother tongue' and 'MTE' as well as my position on MLE.

3.1.1 Mother Tongue, MTE and MLE

Mother Tongue and *Mother Tongue Education*

The term 'mother tongue' has come to mean various things in the literature. Most commonly, it refers to the 'first language' a child learns and is often termed 'L1'. This is ambiguous, however, in that does not address the function that a particular language has in a person's life if 'first' is only understood in a chronological sense. Still, isolating the function of 'mother tongue' can be elusive as Pattanayak (2003) demonstrates through numerous historical attempts in Indian (table 3.1) and Slovenian (table 3.2) national censuses. Herrlitz and van de Ven (2007) suggest (and problematise) three possible interpretations for 'mother tongue' also directed at the function of language: the primary language through which a child is first socialised; the language through which one links themselves to an ethnic/national identity; or the language through which a person conceptualises knowledge of the world. Butzkamm (2003) takes the functional definition of 'mother tongue' the furthest by stipulating it as the only language that one ever really learns since all others are inevitably built upon it.

TABLE 3.1: Capturing 'mother tongue' in Indian Censuses

1881	The language spoken by the child from the cradle
1891	The language spoken by the parents
1901	The language of general use
1921	The language spoken by the parents
1961	The language spoken by the mother. If the mother is dead, then write the name of the language used generally in the household

TABLE 3.2: Capturing 'mother tongue' in Slovenian Censuses

1923	The language of thought
1934	The language of the cultural circle
1951	the language of day-to-day use
1961	The language of the household

Further to the ambiguity of the term 'mother tongue' are the possible meanings that can be associated with the term 'mother tongue education'.

For some, MTE is the practice of teaching people their mother tongue as a subject embedded in a broader curriculum with no reference to LoI. For example, The International Mother Tongue Education Network uses the term to refer the teaching of standard languages, e.g., Dutch in the Netherlands, English in the United Kingdom, and German in Germany (see Herrlitz, Ongstad and van de Ven 2007). In the context of international development and education, MTE typically refers to instruction in indigenous, minoritised languages but this brings us back to the problem of defining 'mother tongue'.

It is far too easy to become entangled here, especially when one considers all of the philosophical and ideological issues associated with the term 'language' (see Harris 2002) before one even approaches the term 'mother tongue' (see Love and Ansaldo 2010). Some sociolinguists have called for a radical dis-invention of *language* as a concept (e.g. Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2005; Makoni and Mashiri 2007). The inconsistency of establishing boundaries between what has been perceived as discrete languages and the varied ways in which they are named is offered as evidence that *language* and *languages* are not useful categories. Furthermore, that people often draw from multiple languages in the same moment suggests that constructing any notion of a homogeneous linguistic system is not only superfluous but even perilous (Wei 2017). These kinds of criticisms are useful for explaining the inefficacy of language policy and planning, even linguistic rights, aimed at groups that are almost impossible to define. But as May (2012) points out, the critique 'fails to recongnize the *recursive* influence of the public recognition of minority languages on individual language use' (p.10). Following May, I prefer a conceptualisation of language(s) that views them as products of a political process of state-formation. 'One only has to compare the 200 odd nation-states in the world today, with the 300 or so languages that are projected to survive long term, to make the connection' (May 2012, p.5). This view conceptualises minoritised languages not as independent entities detached from humans but as political struggles for recognition, status and power.[1] Conversely, majority languages represent a type of political dominance. For my purposes here then, I will tolerate much of the ambiguity associated with the terms 'mother tongue' and 'mother tongue education' given the specification that this research is concerned

[1] See also Stroud (2001) for his discussion of 'Linguistic Citizenship'.

with the linguistic opportunities and freedoms sought by communities who identify themselves as speakers of and invested in certain named languages (i.e. as opposed to other named languages).

Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education

The academic community has been showing increasing support for MLE and it is my position that indigenous language communities in Tanzania would benefit from such a program. Studies in Ethiopia (Heugh 2014; Heugh 2013), South Asia (Malone 2007; Kosonen, C. Young and Malone 2006),[2] Cameroon (Walter and Chuo 2012) and South Africa (S. Taylor and Coetzee 2013) have demonstrated that even in highly multilingual countries with limited resources, mother tongue-based education programs are not only possible but more successful than subtractive programs which immerse children in national and/or foreign language classrooms with little or no regard for children's home languages. The 2013/4 Education For All Global Monitoring Report has embraced these studies and makes strong recommendations for children from ethnic and linguistic minorities to receive instruction in a language that they understand 'alongside the introduction of a second language—ideally throughout the primary grades' (UNESCO 2014, p.283).

In their *Advocacy Kit for Promoting Multilingual Education: Including the Excluded*, UNESCO states that the best way to solve the challenge of not leaving children of minoritised language communities behind is through MLE (UNESCO 2007). They stress that such communities can face any of the following problems: poor access to schools or qualified teachers; teachers who use an unfamiliar language with their students; irrelevant classroom resources/materials that have been developed around the majority language/ culture; and teachers from the majority language/culture who disregard or even spurn their students' language/culture. In an effort to solve these problems then,

> Mother tongue-based [multilinugal education] programs enable learners to begin their education in the language they know

[2]This includes Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, India, Indonesia, Nepal, the Philippines and Thailand.

> best. As they use their own language for learning, they are introduced to the new (official) language and begin learning to communicate in that language. At the same time, teachers help the learners develop their academic vocabulary in the new language so they can understand and talk about more abstract concepts. *In the best programs, learners continue to develop their ability to communicate and to learn in both languages throughout primary school.* (UNESCO 2007, Policy Makers Booklet p.4, italics in original)

In an MLE program (see figure 3.1), initial instruction capitalises on the language that is most familiar to the students—their mother tongue.

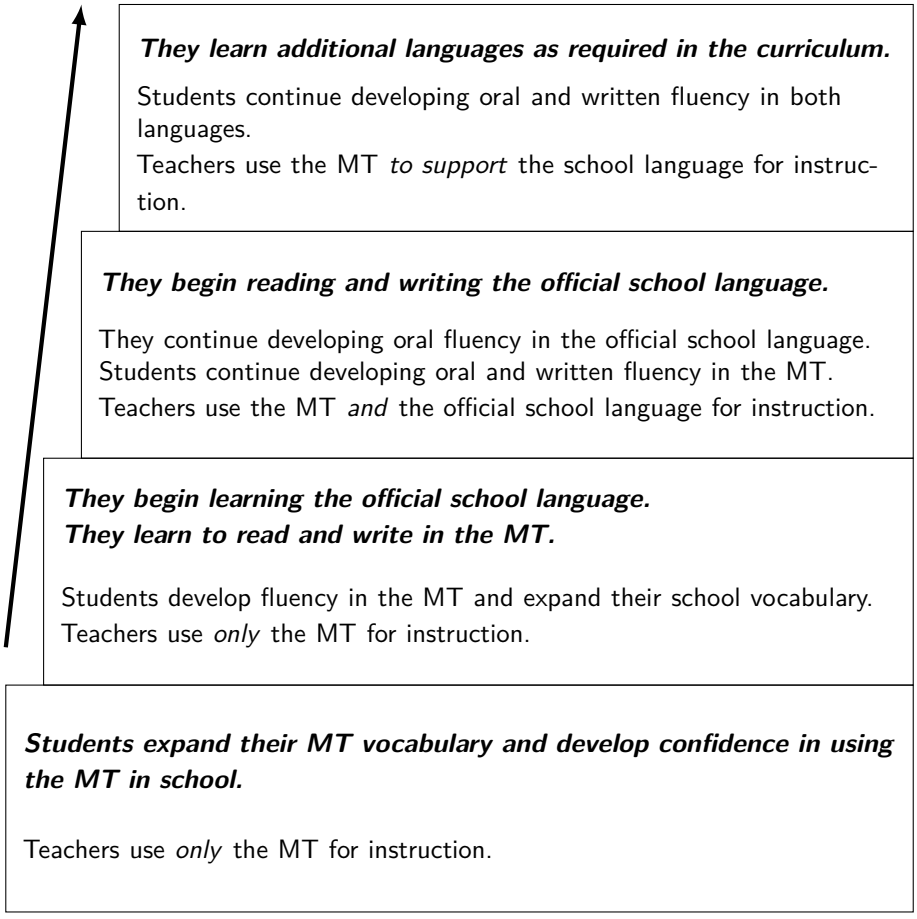

FIGURE 3.1: Mother tongue-based Multilingual Education: LoI and Language Subject Progression (Malone 2018, p.6)

Ideally, this is used throughout pre-primary and primary education in order

to build a strong foundation for learning and learning languages. Other languages are taught as a subject right from the outset and eventually introduced alongside the mother tongue as LoI in later primary years (Kosonen, C. Young and Malone 2006).

3.1.2 A Matter of Rights

Kloss (1971, p.259) describes linguistics rights as falling into two categories: 'tolerance-oriented' and 'promotion-oriented'. Similarly Macías (1979, p.88–89) describes two kinds of rights: 'the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language' and 'the right to use your language(s) in the activities of communal life'. These classifications of rights overlap with each other and also with what is commonly referred to as negative and positive linguistic rights. For example, negative linguistic rights in education might guarantee that a given language community has the freedom to use and develop their languages for instruction and learning without any interference from the state. Positive linguistic rights would take this one step further in that the state should not only guarantee this but also be obligated to make provisions for it to happen.

Another important distinction between categories of rights relevant to language has to do with to whom rights are granted—individuals or collectives. While very few would attempt to challenge the idea of individual rights in general, the idea of collective rights has always been a much more contested space. There are a number of reasons for this but two are salient here. First, individual rights may or may not be linked to group membership such as the difference between rights to non-discrimination and rights to a fair trial. Collective rights, however, are granted to entities which are not reducible to individuals such as institutions and organisations. And although collective rights, like individual rights, are interested in ending discrimination, they tend to go further in what they demand from the state for the collective's survival, growth and even autonomy (Sanders 1991). A good example of this from Canada is *La charte de la langue français* (The Charter of the French Language) or Bill 101, a law intended to safeguard Francophone language and culture by, in part, imposing limitations on English usage across certain domains in the province of Quebec. Protecting collective

rights in this way, however, becomes problematic when they come into conflict with individual rights. Bill 101 has caused significant controversy and has undergone numerous revisions for precisely this reason. In 2002, the Parti Québécois government enacted Bill 104, which blocked a 'loophole' that French-speaking parents were exploiting to get their children into government-funded, English-medium schools. Parents who viewed this as more desirable over the French-medium schools were able to qualify their children by putting them through one year of privately-funded, English-medium school. Bill 104 closed this loophole and successfully blocked these parents' wishes. In 2009, however, the supreme court of Canada struck down the bill as a violation of constitutional (individual) rights.

Second, attempts to apply collective rights to linguistic communities have been criticised for having an essentialist, ideal, or static view of language (see Kibbee 1998; Stroud 2001; Blommaert 2005; May 2005; May 2012). This not only makes it difficult to identify minoritised language groups in the law but wherever self-determination is also not guaranteed, it is often left up to the state to decide which collectives are recognised and which ones are not (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000).

To briefly summarise then, a discourse of linguistic rights-based advocacy in education for minoritised languages makes its argument by situating LoI within the current human rights paradigm. These discourses declare that, among other inalienable rights, the freedom to receive educational instruction in one's own language should be protected by law. These have historically been mostly negative rights allocated to individuals but more recent instruments are moving more towards positive rights for collectives. The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) has gone the furthest in this regard. Tanzania is among those states which have ratified the declaration but like many, falls far short of the provisions to which they are obligated in its articles.

Dunbar (2001) is critical of both negative and positive rights. In the case of negative rights, he points out where they fail to adequately address the growing pressures on minoritised languages that are not necessarily state-driven (e.g. globalisation). In the case of positive rights, he points out a number of problems having to do with the status of language rights and the

degree to which they are legally binding under international law. For example certain rights may not take effect if certain conditions (often vague) are not met, thus, providing loopholes for governments to escape the obligations of such rights. Note the ambiguity of the text in Article 14 of the UNDRIP which declares that states should be intentional so that indigenous peoples would have 'access, *when possible*, to an education in their own culture and provided in their own language' (UN General Assembly 2007, Article 14 para. 3, emphasis mine). Who decides when it is or is not possible?

More relevant to this research, however, Dunbar is critical of the nature of positive rights because they

> are provided in such a way that a one-sided reliance on government is created, with *limited community control and input* into the process of language planning and policy design and implementation. The narrow focus on government obligations obscures extremely important questions about the manner in which minority language services are conceived and developed. There needs to be greater focus on process rather than outcome. (Dunbar 2001, p. 120, emphasis mine)

Stroud (2001) is critical of a linguistic rights discourse for the way it seeks to empower minoritised language communities by affirming the very categories that marginalise them. He proposes Linguistic Citizenship as an alternative to linguistic rights (discussed previously in section 2.2.4). Almost in response to what Dunbar is calling for above, Linguistic Citizenship articulates

> the situation where speakers themselves exercise control over their language, deciding *what* languages are, and what they *mean*, and where language issues (especially in educational sites) are discursively tied to a range of social issues—policy issues and questions of equity. (Stroud 2001, p.353, emphasis in original)

In this way, categories such as *majority language* and *minority language* could potentially be deconstructed to reveal language not as an object in and of itself—requiring some special level of safeguarding—but rather as a space for communities to struggle for their political and economic equality.

The capability approach addresses both Dunbar and Stroud's concerns by identifying the kinds of things that people want to be and do and that they have reason to value. By doing this in the context of education, communities begin to play an active role in determining the kinds of linguistic and educational opportunities that should be available to them. This expansion of not only people's well-being freedoms but also their agency freedoms is given high priority in the CA.

Of course I do not disagree with the idea that linguistic rights are important. They form a vital part of the larger supporting social structures necessary for successful MLE. In and of themselves, however, their existence or lack thereof has had little impact in many contexts where minoritised language communities are socially excluded. And this is especially true for Tanzania where it seems that even if linguistic rights for indigenous languages in their most robust form were introduced today, they likely would not be seized upon by many Tanzanians. And this should not be surprising since, as will be demonstrated in section 3.2, many parents from marginalised, indigenous language communities associate their low-status in society with their language and culture. In this sense, linguistic rights are predicated on linguistic values—values that would be difficult to be appreciated by those who have never enjoyed the benefits of their own languages but have only experienced the 'disadvantages'.

3.1.3 A Matter of Results

The LoI debate has arguably been influenced by thinking from human capital theory which is able to provide direct links between quality of education and things like gross domestic product. For many, it is the very reason that minoritised languages represent a struggle since majority languages continue to be viewed as a portal to economic success (see Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Angrist and Lavy 1997; Silver 2005). Ironically, advocates for MTE have also drawn on human capital theory to present a logical chain which suggests that when students can more easily comprehend instruction through their own languages, they will perform better in school. With better educational performance and outcomes, they are then able to make a greater contribution to society. This, in turn, improves overall development resulting in a stronger

economy (see Stroud 2002; Djité 2008).

Not all MTE advocacy, however, makes the leap from LoI to economic gains. For others, the benefits to learning outcomes alone are enough of a justification. For example, I have already drawn attention to a growing body of research that is demonstrating the efficacy of MLE in this area. Almost all of the studies cited above (e.g. Heugh 2014; Heugh 2013; Kosonen, C. Young and Malone 2006; Walter and Chuo 2012; S. Taylor and Coetzee 2013) point to improved learning outcomes as an important justification for implementing MLE programs. The studies draw comparisons between students who participate in MLE interventions and their counterparts in state schools where instruction is in a language other than the students' mother tongue (e.g. S. Taylor and Coetzee 2013). Success is highlighted particularly where students in the intervention outperform their state school counterparts—this includes performance in the majority language.

Similarly the international development community has also been arguing that children are capable of learning in their own languages without any detriment to their ability to learn other languages. And while I understand the desire for this kind of quality indicator, I contend with MLE advocates who make performance in majority languages a primary indicator for establishing the value of an MLE program. Three contentions I have with this are first, learning a state, regional, or other language of wider communication should not be the main goal of education (Richards and Burnaby 2008). Second, there are other, broader social benefits to MLE that need due consideration when evaluating an MLE program (or education in general). And third, as Benson et al. (2012) observed in some Ethiopian MLE contexts:

> We found evidence that overly ambitious aspirations for English compromise the teaching and learning of academic content and put undue pressure on effective MLE, which sounds a warning for other countries with such aspirations. (p.33).

As with the rights-based arguments, I do not seek to question the importance of results as a metric for assessing specific learning outcomes and tracking progress through a curriculum. Furthermore, results have been a powerful convincing argument for MTE advocates where they have been

able to demonstrate that it does not curtail progress in (and, as evidence suggests, enhances) learning other languages through MLE programs.

But there are three problems with an over-reliance on results. First, results can only demonstrate a very specific kind of performance in a very specific kind of task. And for the individual who can achieve them, there is no guarantee that they will gain access to the opportunities in life that others have attached to those results. Second, when certain types of results are imposed on people without their input, they can drive the kind of change that is not helpful and even potentially harmful. And third, as we have seen for decades in Tanzania, when the emphasis is on poor results, it can drive people to push harder in the wrong direction. For example, there are many Tanzanian politicians who have used the argument of poor performance in English to demand that more English be introduced even earlier into the curriculum by government schools.

I would also challenge what I have observed as a growing reliance on second language outcomes as a strategy to advocate for MLE programs. I fear this can miss other important benefits that are valuable to minoritised language communities and even threaten MLE efforts where second language outcomes are not achieved as desired. For example, results might show that MLE comes at 'no cost' because it actually helps students learn additional languages better (e.g. national and/or international languages). But is this the only or main reason to implement MLE? I am confident that most MLE practitioners would say no. What if a results analysis revealed that MLE had no impact on or even lowered outcomes for learning additional languages? At what point is MLE being held liable to the wrong set of indicators? In section 3.2.2 below, I discuss discourses presented by parents in the literature in support of mother tongue education. Learning additional languages is among them but parents also reported that their children found it easier to learn content, outcomes improved, parents themselves could be more involved in their children's schooling, the curriculum was more culturally relevant and MTE strengthened their sense of identity. See table 3.5 for the complete list.

3.1.4 State Resistance to Mother Tongue Education

Although I am primarily interested in parents' refusal to embrace MTE, it is important to consider reasons as to why states might reject it. These reasons form a large part of the discourses that shape social structures and as such, they get reproduced by parents.

Ansre (1977) suggests and contests four reasons for the rejection of MTE. These are not attributed directly to states but the implications of these arguments are largely applicable at a national level.[3] Ansre calls them the 'cost', 'shrinking world', 'detribalisation' and 'technological advancement' arguments (1977, p.57–60).

The *cost* argument positions low-income countries as being unable to resource MTE programs, especially in poorer states where there are a high number of languages. The case is made that it would be fiscally irresponsible for governments to spend money on developing MTE resources for possibly hundreds of languages when high quality resources are often available at subsidised costs in colonial languages. Ansre argues that it is not as costly as many might think but more pointedly—that the cost of not educating children properly (i.e. utilising MTE) produces a far greater financial strain on the state.

That more and more people on Earth are speaking fewer languages is the basis of Ansre's *shrinking world* argument. In order to participate successfully in international economies and knowledges, some feel that 'it is better to educate the children in the metropolitan and international languages than in the local languages' (1977, p.58). But Ansre's rebuttal that early schooling should be focused on developing national instead of 'international personages' (p.58) is problematic. Many would argue—myself included—that it is important for education to facilitate the development of both a national and a global identity and that these processes can happen simultaneously. The *shrinking world* argument is still very much alive in Tanzania. Consider the following excerpt from an article in *Mwananchi*

[3] In personal communication with various levels of educational authorities and government in Tanzania, I have frequently heard all four of these arguments offered as reasons to suggest that MTE is either impractical and/or infeasible.

'The Citizen', a nationally-distributed newspaper in Tanzania. The article, entitled *Kiingereza sasa ndiyo lugha ya dunia* 'English is indeed now the language of the world' (Mwananchi 2013), was written in rejection to a proposal by the Education Forum to use Swahili as the LoI in Tanzania's secondary schools (see Foster 2013a). The authors urged Tanzanians:

> We should invest in Swahili and devise strategies to improve it but not at the cost of English. If we do that, we will have let down this generation and the following generations by turning our country into an island that is not able to communicate with the international community. (Mwananchi 2013, last para., my translation)

Ansre's third argument, *detribalisation*, captures the state's interest in assimilation. In this argument, fostering multiple languages is equated with fostering multiple ethnicities, which in turn, is equated with fostering divisiveness and as such, poses a threat to the idea of a nation-state. In this line of thinking then, it is assumed that educating children in a more neutral, foreign language 'will result in a new generation of a united people who are oblivious or less conscious of their tribal origins and dedicated to national unity' (Ansre 1977, p.59). Ansre points out a number of obvious flaws with this thinking that have also been addressed by many others but he takes one unique stance against foreign language instruction in that 'rather than replace the tribes it adds, at least, one more—hautily [*sic*] conscious of being elitist' (p.59).

The fourth argument, *technological advancement*, has already been mentioned briefly in the previous section. But it is not just parents who are concerned with the apparent lack of vocabulary associated with indigenous languages when expressing technological concepts—educational authorities also struggle with this problem. Ansre gives two reasons why this should not thwart MTE endeavours and those reasons continue to be echoed by the international development community and many MTE and MLE advocates. The first is that indigenous languages can be developed and expanded to accommodate new vocabulary (Prah 2009). This has certainly been the case with today's modern languages. And the second is that any new vocabulary needing to be introduced does not have to encompass the range of concepts

necessary for primary through higher education since MTE is typically only implemented in the early years.

Two other reasons, not addressed by Ansre, as to why states may reject MTE need to be mentioned here. First is the issue of standardisation, which is also connected to status. For example, Adegbija views English LoI in Nigeria as an important means to maintain standards of quality and uniformity:

> Various standards under which the products of our educational system have gone through would have been questionable had all students received instruction in their indigenous languages. It would, in such a case, be almost impossible for a uniform standard such as WAEC, JAMB, IJMB, etc aim at to be created. Usage of English is therefore a veritable force of standardization, a potent promoter of uniformity, and a subtle conferrer of international stamp, acceptability and recognition on the educational system. Without doubt, therefore, the use of English has several almost non-negotiable advantages for the nation. (Adegbija 1989, p.30)[4]

But Adegbija also recognises this view is a very idealistic one and in order for it to be successful, it depends on a nationwide proficiency in English that is still non-existent in Nigeria.

Second, the issue of identifying languages and those who speak them in any kind of homogeneous way is another reason that states might not, or according to Gupta (1997) *should not* embrace MTE. Furthermore for Gupta, if the arguments for MTE are about empowerment, then the arguments against it should be as well. Hence her belief that in certain multilingual, cosmopolitan contexts where it is too impractical to provide MTE for everyone,

> *the empowerment of individuals should have primacy over the development of an individual's mother tongue, and even over the preservation of a language.* If language maintenance gets in the way of empowerment, then the individual's language rights may be being maintained but the educational and social rights are not. An emphasis on the preservation of ancestral languages may be linked to a wish to give freedom to groups to express

[4]WAEC - West African Examinations Council; JAMB - Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board; IJMB - Interim Joint Matriculation Board

> themselves, but also is linked (Crowley, 1996) to ideologies of purity which need to be engaged with. (Gupta 1997, p.497, emphasis in original)

The problem I have with Gupta's approach is that she ignores the freedom and agency that minoritised language communities should have to define themselves and thus, establish the kind of educational opportunities they so desire. Her contention that MTE be provided for 'every language group, *however small*' (1997, p.498, emphasis mine) is located in a position of power that seizes the authority to determine who does and does not receive certain types of educational opportunities. Despite Gupta's goals of empowerment, her approach has the potential to be very disempowering if first, minoritised language communities have no voice in language policy and planning, and second, MTE is being viewed as little more than a vehicle for language preservation while its other benefits are ignored.

3.1.5 The Debate in Tanzania

Tanzania's language policy in education has long been the subject of intense debate. The contention, however, has not been over the use of Tanzania's many indigenous languages but rather only over the use of Swahili and English. I shall refer to individuals and groups that advocate for Swahili as belonging to a 'pro-Swahili movement' and individuals and groups that advocate for English as belonging to a 'pro-English movement'. The current reality of Swahili instruction in primary schools and English instruction in secondary schools can easily be interpreted as an unfortunate compromise between the two sides. A pro-Swahili movement continues to pressure the government to extend Swahili instruction up into secondary school and teach English as a subject. Conversely, a pro-English movement continues to pressure the government to extend English instruction down into primary school and teach Swahili as a subject. The academic community has largely sided with the pro-Swahili movement. They make it a matter of results arguing that Swahili is spoken far more widely and with far greater proficiency than English, especially by children and their teachers. Indigenous language communities, however, have been lost in the fray, and with very few advocating for them,

they are relegated to little more than the status of cultural artefacts in the current policy domain.

Eberhard, Simons and Fennig (2021) report the number of living languages in Tanzania as being 125 of which 117 are indigenous. Their report reflects a tally of languages present in Tanzania that have been assigned codes under the ISO 639-3 scheme for which criteria has been established to only recognise '*full* languages' (Simons 2017, p.1). Parents from within these indigenous language communities have very little choice over the language in which their children will receive instruction due to the proscription of indigenous languages for formal school instruction since 1967. The position against indigenous languages by some teachers is so strong that children caught speaking them still face corporal punishment.

The pro-English movement was partially granted their wishes in 1995 when a policy change allowed for the introduction of English-medium primary schools in addition to existing Swahili-medium primary schools (Ministry of Education and Culture 1995). By 2012, Tanzania had 16,331 primary schools of which 651 offered English instruction. But of these, only 8 belonged to the government with the remaining 643 being privately operated (Ministry of Education & Vocational Training 2013). Despite the emergence of so many schools in just 17 years, it still remained that less than 4% of Tanzanian primary schools provided English instruction and 98% of those were privately funded requiring parents to pay fees. It is therefore ambitious to describe the situation as 'a choice' since access to English-medium primary schools remains so restrictive. These statistics also reveal that the vast majority of Tanzanian students entering secondary school have had to abruptly transition from Swahili to English instruction. Qorro (2013) reports this number as 99.1% for the 2012 school year.

Over the last thirty years, the terms 'additive' and 'subtractive' have been used to categorise approaches to bilingual education. C. Baker describes how these terms get used in different ways (2011, p.71–72). But while usage of the terms varies, one central idea persists: in an additive context, a student's linguistic repertoire is expanded through bilingual education whereas in a subtractive context it is reduced. In Tanzania, critics have viewed the overall program as subtractive. For example, the proscription of local languages

in primary schools is viewed as subtractive because Swahili or English is not added to but rather replaces and even threatens indigenous languages (see Batibo 2006; J. M. Rugemalira 2005). The transition from Swahili instruction in primary schools to English instruction in secondary schools has also been viewed as subtractive since learners lack adequate opportunity to properly develop either language (see Tibategeza 2010). It is this latter case where most opponents of Tanzania's language policy have directed their criticisms.

Some in the pro-Swahili movement have often made their case *for* Swahili by making a case *against* English. For example, numerous studies draw attention to the lack of proficiency and hence, inability of both students and teachers to function in an English-only classroom (see Yahya-Othman 1990; Swilla 2009; Brock-Utne and Halla B. Holmarsdottir 2004; Roy-Campbell and Qorro 1997; J. Barrett 1994; Rubagumya et al. 2011). Others take issue with the lack of access that students have to English outside of school (see Brock-Utne 2007a; S. Yahya-Othman and Batibo 1996). And Rubagumya (2003) is critical of English and its commodification in privately-funded, English-medium primary schools, many of which he found to be questionable in terms of quality of education. He argues some parents are more invested in their children learning English than they are with quality whereas others simply equate English instruction with quality of education. He further laments some schools 'are unfortunately taking advantage of parents' demand for [English-medium primary] schools to make money and in the process they short-change the parents' (2003, p.164) with inadequate programs. Criticism has also been levied against English instruction as an agenda that safeguards the hegemonic position of Tanzanian elites by restricting access to learning and learning in English (Neke 2005; Trudell 2010).

Brock-Utne has been one of the strongest opponents of Tanzania's English-only policy in secondary schools. She has long been advocating for Swahili instruction at this level through a number of research efforts (e.g. 2013; 2012; 2010; 2007a; 2007b; 2005; 2000). Her reasons are both rights- and results-based and she has consistently argued that Tanzanians' language and learning goals would be served more adequately with English as a subject rather than as LoI.

In 2012 during personal communication, Qorro expressed to me her similar position that Tanzanians would learn English better if it were not a language of instruction but rather a subject taught by qualified teachers. It was her observation in one Dar es Salaam secondary school, where she taught English as a subject, that students who took French as a subject had better proficiency in French than in English despite the fact that English was LoI in the remaining subjects. She attributed this, in part, to the high quality of French instruction and the lack of interference from other teachers with lower French proficiency.

In early 2015, possibly in response to national and international criticism that the curriculum was too subtractive, the Tanzanian government released a new 'Education and Training Policy' (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2014) bringing a ray of hope to the country's pro-Swahili movement. The new policy was a significant shift in Tanzania's education history by calling for Swahili to be implemented as LoI in secondary schools. Its future is uncertain, however, in that while it has drawn much praise it has also been the source of a groundswell of opposition from the general public. Many fear it is a decision that will further degrade English proficiency across the nation while others criticise it as a move to commodify English instruction to an even greater extent than it already is. Still others echo suspicions of an elitist agenda.

For many, the policy change is a long-overdue acknowledgement from the state that Swahili is the better choice for LoI based on the arguments presented above. Surprisingly though, despite the same arguments holding true for indigenous languages spoken by children in rural communities, very few are making a case for them. But as already stated above, and while these criticisms may be valid, they ignore what I have observed as a deep value that Tanzanians hold for what has become a highly idealised construal of English. With this in mind, it is not surprising that the recent policy has failed to be implemented. Brock-Utne (2010) notes:

> On Tuesday 24th of November 2009 I had a meting [*sic*] with the Deputy Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training Abdulla Mzee Abdulla in his office in the Ministry in Stone Town, Zanzibar. ... He said that ... he ... knew that children learn best in a language which is familiar to them.

> Yet his job as a politician was to listen to what his constituency wants and the parents want their children to be taught through the medium of English! (p.642)

In the next section I discuss LoI from the perspective of parents but across a wider, international context. A pattern begins to emerge that confirms Brock-Utne's note above making a case to argue that parents have become one of the strongest driving forces against MTE. And frustratingly, this seems to be more true in rural, economically-disadvantaged contexts where indigenous language communities have the potential to realise significant improvements in quality of education through MLE programs.

3.2 Parents and LoI in the Literature

In an effort to situate this research within the existing body of literature on parents' LoI preferences for their children, I conducted a systematic review of studies that discussed parents' support and rejection of specific LoIs. Publications were gathered that had multiple references to 'parents' in conjunction with other terms such as 'mother tongue education', 'multilingual education', 'bilingual education', 'language of instruction', 'language immersion', etc. The volume of literature that included this combination of terms was too large for a thorough consideration so I narrowed the focus with three strategies. First, publications that did not involve contexts where multiple languages were competing for spaces in the classroom were ignored, more specifically—and I borrow terminology from Benson (2013, p.285)—where both '*dominant* and *non-dominant languages*' were at play. In discussing the literature, I prefer the terms dominant language (DL) and non-dominant language (NDL) since they are context-dependent (as opposed to static terms such as 'mother tongue', 'indigenous', 'minority', 'majority', 'official', 'national', etc.) and as such, allow for the inclusion of studies on speakers of majority languages that are sociolinguistically non-dominant (e.g. Spanish- or Korean-speaking immigrants in the United States, Russian-speaking immigrants in Estonia, etc.). Second, contexts were narrowed further by excluding literature that did not focus on parents for whom NDLs were the primary means of communication in the home. Third, publications that did not provide reasons for

parents' preferences were excluded. For example, Arua and Magocha (2002) had much to report on Botswanan parents' overwhelming desire for their children to access English in primary school but they did not report reasons for those preferences. These strategies were helpful in reducing the amount of literature down to a more manageable quantity while at the same time, maximising the relevance of the selected publications to this research.

In total, I gathered 63 publications that made claims about parents' preferences for specific LoIs to be used with their children in contexts where both DLs and NDLs were being investigated. It is by no means an exhaustive list but I treat it as a comprehensive sample of what exists in the literature. With the help of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQ-DAS), I was able to record a set of attributes for each publication reviewed. These included the type of document (research, indirect research, discussion), data collection methods if applicable (interview, interview+,[5] questionnaire), year, location data, NDLs, DLs, the author's position regarding instructional mode (MTE, immersion, multilingual) and parents' LoI preferences. This was helpful in situating the present study by quickly being able to assess contextual and methodological factors.

Of the 63 publications reviewed, only 5 were dated before the year 2000 and the remaining 58 were published afterwards. This is not surprising since the Dakar Framework, which took place in April of 2000, gave rise to UNESCO's Education For All (EFA) movement. EFA made access to education for under-privileged children in low-income countries a long-overdue, global priority but it was simply a matter of time before multilingualism would emerge as a major obstacle to improving the quality of education for children in rural, indigenous language communities. In addition to this, the last twenty years has seen an increase in favour towards MTE by the international development community (e.g. see the list cited in the introductory chapter of this thesis) as well as a growing concern over the negative impact of globalisation on the world's indigenous languages and cultures.

Figure 3.2 shows how the publications cover the world's major regions/ continents. The counts add up to 64 because one publication by Benson (2004)

[5]This category is for studies that combined interviews with other methods such as questionnaires, focus group discussions and observation.

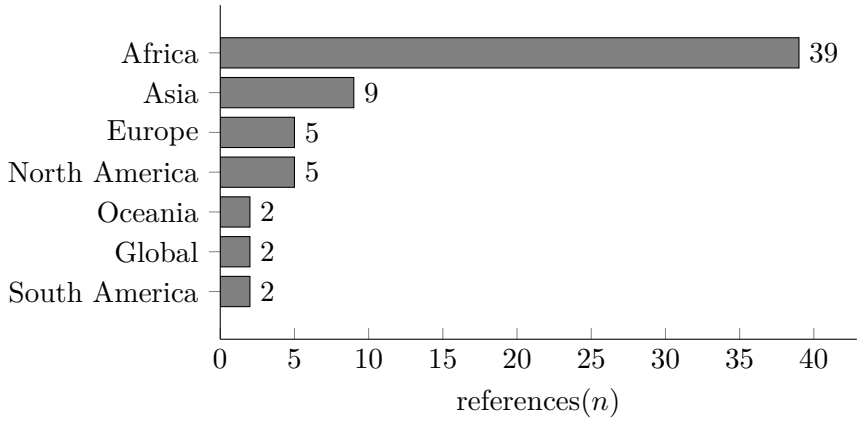

FIGURE 3.2: Regional Coverage of 63 Publications on Parents' LoI Preferences

gave a review of literacy programs in both Bolivia and Mozambique and was therefore counted twice for spanning two continents. The 2 publications assigned to 'Global' are studies by Benson (2013) and Ball (2010), which are not focused on specific regions but rather the task of making broad, best-practice recommendations for language-in-education. It is noteworthy that Africa appears to be getting far more attention in the literature as it relates to this subject but without further investigation it is difficult to offer an explanation. I will add, however, that all of the African countries represented were in Sub-Saharan Africa where the combination of high linguistic diversity and low economic development pose difficult challenges to educational objectives.

As to the nature of the publications reviewed, 34 were discussion papers and 29 were primary research. Within the latter group, however, 2 studies reported reasons for parents' perspectives from secondary sources (Vuzo 2010; Rea-Dickins and Yu 2013) and 3 research reports elicited parental data indirectly through either first-year university students (Banda 2003), university instructors (Kiliçkaya 2006), or pre- and lower primary school teachers (Begi 2014).

Looking more closely at the remaining 24 primary research papers, the methods of collecting data from parents were varied: 10 utilised questionnaires (Ada 2012; Frasure-Smith, Lambert and D. M. Taylor 1975; Iyamu and Ogiegbaen 2007; R. P. Kemppainen et al. 2008; Mohamed 2013; Naidoo 2012;

Nical, Smolicz and Secombe 2004; Qorro 2005; Rubagumya 2003; Tung, Lam and Tsang 1997); 10 utilised interviews (John 2010; R. Kemppainen et al. 2004; J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013; Mavunga 2010; Monzó 2005; Muthwii 2004; Ndamba 2008; Prošić-Santovac and Radović 2018; Telli 2014; Tsung and Cruickshank 2009); 2 utilised focus group discussions (Nomlomo 2006; Phyak 2013); 1 combined interviews with focus group discussions and observation (Bogale 2009); and 1 combined questionnaires with interviews (de Klerk 2002). The 14 studies that utilised interviews and focus group discussions are more similar to this study but to better position this research, I point out some key contextual and methodological differences in the languages at play and the sampling.[6]

Four studies are distinctly set apart from this study because the sociolinguistic contexts were notably different in that the NDLs in question were not used widely in the communities where the studies were situated.R. Kemppainen et al. (2004) interviewed 16 parents who were Russian-speaking immigrants in Estonia with children in Russian-medium, Estonian-medium and Russian/Estonian bilingual schools. Prošić-Santovac and Radović (2018) interviewed 18 parents from Serbia's social elite who had children enrolled in an English-medium pre-primary school in Serbia. J. S. Lee and Jeong (2013) interviewed parents from 'six Korean-American families' (p.93) who had children in a dual language Korean-English immersion program at an elementary school in southern California.[7] Monzó (2005) interviewed 15 Latino parents from Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala who had children in bi- and monolingual primary programs at an elementary school near Los Angeles, California. The primary languages of parents and children in these studies are unthreatened with a status of 2 or lower (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021) on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) (see Lewis and Simons 2010) and so benefit from stability, prestige, and a literature corpus that is both standardised and sustainable. Contrast this with Malila which is ranked at 6a.[8]

[6]Refer to the methodological overview given in section 1.4 for comparison. A full discussion of the methodology is given in chapter four.

[7]The number of parents who participated in the study was not indicated.

[8]'The EGIDS consists of 13 levels with each higher number on the scale representing a greater level of disruption to the intergenerational transmission of the language' (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021).

Two studies in Asia, one in China and the other in Nepal bear greater resemblance to the this study. Tsung and Cruickshank (2009) had native-speakers interview 53 Uyghur-speaking parents from two primary schools in China's Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. The parents were mostly farmers who had children enrolled in recently-developed, mixed Uyghur-Chinese schools that were implemented by a policy change aimed at addressing failing MTE schools. The Uyghurs are a language community of approximately 10 million and their language ranks 2 on EGIDS (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021). It is developed, standardised and there are published teaching materials. In Nepal, Phyak (2013) conducted one focus group with an unspecified number of parents from the Rajbanshi and Santhali language communities. The parents all lived below the poverty line and had low literacy levels. Their children were enrolled in an experimental MLE school with separate classes and instruction provided in each language. At the time of the study, materials had been developed for the first two years of schooling. Parents were navigating contested spaces between their own languages, Nepali and English—a context similar to that of the Malila parents in this study who are also navigating local, national and international languages. Key differences in both the Chinese and Nepali studies vis-á-vis this study are most notably the location, linguistic and cultural differences as well as the government's support and availability of resources.

The other 8 studies were conducted in Africa and explored the perspectives of parents from both indigenous language communities and languages of wider communication. Four of these focused on languages that have been accorded official status in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

An investigation by Mavunga (2010) in western Zimbabwe involved interviews with 12 parents to explore their perceptions across two indigenous languages that have official status in Zimbabwe: Tonga and Shona. In 2013, the country amended the constitution and implemented 16 official languages with English being the only non-African one (Government of Zimbabwe 2013). The parents and children in the study were part of the Tonga language community but their children were enrolled in four Shona LoI primary schools. The study is unique for the way it investigates parents' perceptions of two indigenous languages that have a smaller gap in linguistic capital between them (e.g. nothing like the power distance between Malila and Swahili or

Malila and English). This sets it apart from all of the other studies considered in this review as well as the present one. More importantly, however, this was the only study reviewed where children were not in a multilingual program that utilised their home language for instruction.

Another study in Zimbabwe by Ndamba (2008) looked at interview data from 42 Shona and Ndebele parents who had children in primary schools where Shona and Ndebele were used as LoI for years 1–3 before transitioning to English. Ndebele, like Shona, has official status in Zimbabwe and prior to the policy change in 2013, these were the only two languages that had been accorded national status alongside English's official status and colonial legacy (Maseko and Ndlovu 2013). Ethnologue reports 7.16M and 1.61M speakers of Shona and Ndebele respectively in Zimbabwe (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021).

Nomlomo (2006) examined the choices of 21 South African, Xhosa parents (20 female and 1 male) in two focus group discussions. Parents were divided into control and experimental groups depending on whether their children received science instruction in Xhosa (experimental) or English (control) during grades 4–6. Xhosa is one of 10 indigenous languages in South Africa with official status (*The South African Constitution* 1996) along with English.

Also in South Africa and related to Xhosa, de Klerk (2002) surveyed 194 parents who sent children to English-medium primary schools followed by interviews with a sub-set of 26 respondents. A key difference in this study is that all of the parents were from an elite class who had already rejected MTE for their children.

The next two studies were carried out with parents from language communities in Ethiopia and Kenya. The languages concerned did not have official status but both countries have adopted national policies that embrace MTE during the early grades of primary school.

Bogale (2009) conducted interviews and focus groups with parents, teachers and students from two regions in Ethiopia: Gambella and the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region. The study aimed at making policy recommendations for specific LoIs and the educational levels at which they should be used. No data, however, is given about the number of parents

involved in the study and while the study claims to have interviewed parents, findings regarding their preferences came from interviews with school personnel and questionnaires given to parents and students. Some of what might be considered shortcomings in the report may be attributed to its nature as a conference proceeding. Bogale's findings, however, are relevant to this study and confirm what many others have observed.

Parents, pupils and teachers' perspectives on LoI was the focus of Muthwii's study (2004) among the Kalenjin language community in Kenya. Twelve parents were interviewed individually: 6 with children in rural primary schools who received instruction in Kalenjin during years 1–3 followed by English or Swahili from year 4 onwards; and 6 with children in semi-rural primary schools who received instruction in either English or Swahili.

In Ethiopia and Kenya, the level of governmental support for indigenous languages in education is an important difference from the context in Tanzania where policy is the reverse and punitive practices against children who speak indigenous languages in schools are acceptable.

Lastly, two small studies conducted in Tanzania investigated parents' preferences between Swahili and English as the LoI for their children. John (2010) interviewed 6 parents and Telli (2014) interviewed 5 parents; however, neither report reveals demographic information about the parents so it is not clear what role Swahili plays in their or their children's lives (e.g. as the mother tongue). The key difference from this research is similar to some of the aforementioned studies in that Swahili is a language of much higher sociolinguistic status (EGIDS level 1) and has the designation of 'National Language' in Tanzania (*Tanzania Government Portal: Tanzania Profile* 2015).

Considering the current policy, it is not surprising that there are no studies available in international literature on parents' LoI preferences in Tanzania with regards to indigenous languages. This study, therefore, brings an important perspective in a context that has not been adequately represented in research. Furthermore, by focusing on parents' discursive practices, the study is able to reveal ideological beliefs about language-in-education are influencing both national education policy and family language policy (for

the latter see Luykx 2003).

3.2.1 Parents and Researchers: Conflicting Ideologies

In this section I summarise the relevant content of the literature under review. To narrow the focus, consideration is limited to the authors' positions on LoI; the directionality of parents' preferences between their own NDLs and the more widely-spoken DLs available to them through formal education; and the reasons presented by parents and researchers for their positions.

Researchers: A 'First-language-first' Ideology

Phyak (2013) aptly identifies the presence of a 'first-language-first' (p.128) ideology which is reflected in 56 (87%) of the publications reviewed wherein authors argued in favour of NDLs for classroom instruction. Most of these preferred multi- or bilingual additive approaches built on the children's mother tongue in early primary. The only study that argued for a monolingual approach was addressed at higher education in Turkey where Kiliçkaya (2006), contends that only Turkish should be used for instruction in universities claiming improved communication for learning. In the remaining 7 papers, the authors' did not make their positions explicit. I was not able to identify any studies on parents where authors were making a case for foreign LoIs. This is a strong indication that an ideology of first-language-first has been widely embraced by the academic community and the present study is no exception to this trend. I would further argue that the current interest in MTE has become something of a movement and if this is indeed the case, caution is called for as those who 'take up the cause' may become susceptible to prioritising their voices over others who are not ideologically aligned with them (e.g. parents).

Notwithstanding this first-language-first ideology, it is not always obvious if researchers are actually taking parents' mother tongues into consideration. This is especially true for 8 of the 9 papers that reported on the situation in Tanzania and only discuss or investigate perceptions of Swahili and English in the classroom. Rea-Dickins and Yu (2013) report on a context in Zanzibar

where Swahili is the mother tongue of the students involved; however, papers by Babaci-Wilhite (2010), J. M. Rugemalira (2005), Vuzo (2010), Rubagumya (2003), John (2010), Qorro (2005), Qorro (2013), and Telli (2014) discuss parents and children for whom no mention is made regarding how or if any of Tanzania's 117 indigenous languages factor into the linguistic ecology of their homes. In more urban settings there is greater likelihood that Swahili is the first language—at least for children—but this can only be left to speculation. Otherwise, as J. Barrett (1994) correctly points out,

> Currently the role of Kiswahili vs. the vernaculars is scarcely on the agenda while English remains. In the literature on the medium of education 'Kiswahili' is taken as synonymous with 'mother tongue' (J. Barrett 1994, p.4).

Furthermore, the literature on Tanzania has a tendency to over-report the extent to which Swahili is spoken by Tanzanian citizens citing rates of 95% and higher (e.g Babaci-Wilhite 2010; Brock-Utne 2007b) without discussing proficiency levels or demographics (for example, most parents in the present study reported that their children began primary school with limited or no Swahili proficiency). From a CDA perspective, the entrenched discourse that 'in Tanzania everyone speaks Swahili' is doing much to obscure Tanzania's diverse, indigenous linguistic landscape. By investigating the issue of LoI from the perspective of the Malila language community, this study is an important one as it explores what is a considerable gap in the literature for Tanzania.

Parents: A Preference for Dominant Language Instruction

Important to this critical study are the discourses that parents have adopted, especially those that sustain ideologies, assumptions and 'common-sense' thinking about language and language learning. Such ideologies are viewed as activations of deeper mechanisms; effects of social structures that generate discursive phenomena—the linguistic 'footprints' so-to-speak of other non-discursive social realities. The discursive practices of parents can be explored to reveal connections between their decisions and other forces that bear on them such as neoliberalism, postcolonialism, globalisation and linguistic

hegemony. Tracing the semiotic choices of parents throughout the literature then is more than just positioning this study but also an important aspect of exploring the wider LoI discursive landscape and how it bears on the Malila parents with whom I engaged. Therefore, my approach to handling the reasons parents offer to justify their LoI preferences is to treat them as discourses. As discourses, they represent ideological components of larger belief systems but they are distinct from ideologies in that they have a characteristic semiotic component. And although this is not a quantitative study, I use frequency counts both in this section and in the findings chapter to give an indication of not only the extent to which specific discourses have been adopted by others but also how some discourses have been adopted more (or less) vigorously than others.

Using CAQDAS to record the attributes mentioned above for each publication quickly revealed a strong preference for a dominant language of instruction (DLoI) by the majority of parents. I give a summary in table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3: Parents' LoI preferences from the literature

Instructional Mode	Publications
DLs (e.g. immersion)	53
NDLs (e.g. MTE)	3
Mixed (e.g. MLE, bilingual, additive, subtractive, etc.)	7

There is no question that parents, regardless of the regions considered, want their children to receive instruction in DLs. Only 3 publications reported that parents preferred a non-dominant language of instruction (NDLoI) and considering the contexts, those preferences are not at all surprising. One program was part of a language revitalisation effort for the Māori community in New Zealand and it was initiated by the parents themselves (May 2004). This was also the case for a Welsh-medium program established in Wales by Welsh-speaking parents (Jones and Martin-Jones 2004). And in Mavunga's study in Zimbabwe on Tonga-speaking parents with children in Shona-medium of instruction classrooms, parents preferred their own indigenous language over another. Seven publications reported that parents preferred mixed approaches with instruction in both DLs and NDLs (see Benson 2004; Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt 1999; Chimbutane and Benson 2012;

Frasure-Smith, Lambert and D. M. Taylor 1975; R. P. Kemppainen et al. 2008; R. Kemppainen et al. 2004; Monzó 2005).

Also, it should be noted that English accounted for almost all of the DLs preferred. Five discussion papers spanned multiple regions and used more general terms such as 'international', 'colonial', 'dominant', 'L2', etc. to describe the DLs parents preferred (see Alidou et al. 2006; Truong 2012; Benson 2013; Bamgbose 2004; Trudell 2007); however, most can be deduced as English from their contexts. Furthermore, some parents wanted their children to be instructed in multiple dominant languages. These include English and Amharic in Ethiopia (Woldemariam 2007; Bogale 2009), English and Nepali in Nepal (Phyak 2013), and Portuguese and English in Mozambique (Lopes 1998). Only Tsung and Cruickshank's study in XUAR (2009) reported a clear preference for a DL other than English where 70% of Uyghur-speaking parents preferred Chinese. There are numerous factors driving this global quest for English by minoritised language communities and while many are inherent to the specific contexts discussed in the literature under review (e.g. English as a colonial legacy), one factor rises above all others and that is the association of English to economic mobility. This will be discussed further below.

In addition to recording the attributes mentioned above for each publication, using the same CAQDAS, I coded any text in those documents where reasons were given for parents' LoI preferences. Each reason was assigned a unique code in the form of a discourse label, similar discourses were grouped together and they were then hierarchically organised. Recording literature metadata and the codes in the same system allowed me to quickly execute a vast range of queries based on any combination of codes and/or attributes. One useful outcome from this was the ability to compare the codes across document types and establish that what is reported in research, indirect research and discussion papers is consistent enough to consider them collectively. This mitigated concerns I had about the validity of claims that were not based on primary research. In total, I identified 38 discourses from the reasons researchers gathered from parents defending their LoI preferences. Only 3 of these were not found in reports from primary research and I will draw attention to them in the discussion that follows.

Of the 38 discourses identified, 23 reflect reasons parents provided to support their preference for DLoIs and 15 reflect reasons supporting NDLoIs. (These groups are not mutually exclusive as their preferences for instructional modes, e.g. monolingual vs multilingual, is a separate matter.) In considering the various discourses, I found it helpful to organise them hierarchically as some obvious groupings emerged and others were either positive or negative expressions of the same idea (e.g. where MOVEMENT is stated as an attractor to DLoIs, ISOLATION is stated elsewhere as a detractor to NDLoIs. Since both have to do with *Communicative Mobility*, I organise them under that subcategory). Making these decisions, however, is crude at best since there is both overlap and nuance that cannot be captured in any single organisational system. For the main categories I found Gardner and Lambert's distinction between instrumental and integrative language attitudes to fit well with parents' reasons. Instrumental attitudes are driven by the perceived pragmatic or utilitarian benefits connected to competence in a specific language. Integrative attitudes link specific languages to valued social identities (Gardner and Lambert 1972). Two additional categories were necessary to describe discourses that were neither **INSTRUMENTAL** nor **INTEGRATIVE**.[9] The category **INFORMATION-RELATED** contains discourses offered by researchers who attribute parents' LoI preferences to the kind of information they had access to and how they processed it. The category **EXTERNAL REALITIES** contains discourses where parents concede to (i.e. as opposed to preferring or choosing) certain LoIs being imposed on them due to factors perceived to be beyond their control. The 23 discourses that reflect parents' reasons supporting DLoIs are presented with their coding structure in table 3.4. In the discussion that follows I describe each one with select examples from the literature.

INSTRUMENTAL reasons were the most common ones given by parents in support of DLoIs for their children and those reflecting a discourse of ECONOMIC MOBILITY were found in 43 of the 63 publications reviewed. Woldemariam's study in Ethiopia captures this ideological way of thinking about the connection between LoI and ECONOMIC MOBILITY that is typical throughout the literature:

[9] I use all capitals in bold-face for the main categories, word-initial capitals for the subcategories and small capitals for the discourse labels.

TABLE 3.4: Parental discourses favouring DLoIs with reference counts from 63 publications (coding key: **TOP LEVEL**, *Sub-category*, DISCOURSE LABEL)

INSTRUMENTAL		**INTEGRATIVE**	
ECONOMIC MOBILITY	43	*Social Mobility*	
Quality of Education		PRESTIGE	20
OVERALL EXPERIENCE	16	WIDER CITIZENSHIP	11
LEXICAL INADEQUACY	15	MISTRUST	4
POOR MTE PROGRAMS	7	LEXICAL RESPECT	1
LL Objectives			
IMMERSION	15	**INFORMATION-RELATED**	
DISPLACEMENT	9	IGNORANCE	12
EARLIER-THE-BETTER	7	*Credulity*	
Educational Mobility		ELITE INFLUENCE	4
ASSESSMENT LOI	9	POLICY CLOUT	3
HIGHER-ED OPTIONS	7		
LATER SCHOOL DEMANDS	5	**EXTERNAL REALITIES**	
Communicative Mobility		MIXED ETHNICITY	3
MOVEMENT	7	ENGLISH INEVITABILITY	1
ISOLATION	5	LANGUAGE DEATH	1
		FEASIBILITY	1

> Even those parents who are well aware of the nature of mother-tongue education seem less than enthusiastic about sending their children to such schools. The main cause of parents' negative attitude towards mother-tongue education is their apprehension about the future of their children. All parents agree that obtaining employment is the single most important reason for sending children to school. They believe that local languages diminish the value of education for their children. (Woldemariam 2007, p.223)

No other discourse was coded as frequently as ECONOMIC MOBILITY and it was expressed in publications from all of the major geographical regions represented. That members of minoritised language communities fail to see adequate economic opportunities within the reach of their own languages and cultures is a global phenomenon. And with the view that DL acquisition is the only way to open up economic opportunities for their children, it is no surprise parents are heavily invested in schooling which provides the greatest possible exposure to DLs. Trudell describes the impact of this behaviour on parents' attitudes towards MLE initiatives: 'The introduction of local languages in the classroom is seen as regressive and non-conducive to that investment' (2007, p.557).

Parents also tend to believe that the *Quality of Education* is higher where DLs are used for instruction. Three discourses emerge in the literature supporting this. One has to do with what parents perceive as a better OVERALL EXPERIENCE for their children's education. The discourse generalises DLoI classrooms as having higher quality teaching and learning materials, superior curriculum, teachers with more adequate training, better infrastructure and students who are highly motivated to learn in the presence of DLs (e.g. Bamgbose 2004; Frasure-Smith, Lambert and D. M. Taylor 1975; Muthwii 2004; Tsung and Cruickshank 2009; Banda 2000; Banda 2003). In contrast, a discourse of POOR MTE PROGRAMS generalises NDLoI classrooms in precisely the opposite way (e.g. Alidou et al. 2006; Bogale 2009; J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013; Chimbutane and Benson 2012; de Klerk 2002; Mavunga 2010; Wolff 2011). Van Dijk (1998, p.267) introduces the concept of 'ideological squaring' which I present as a matrix in figure 3.3. The model describes a strategy of 'positive-self presentation' and 'negative other-presentation' by showing how information that is relevant to a given situation is selectively expressed or suppressed. In CDA research, this has more commonly been applied to the way opposing groups are presented in the media (see Youssefi, Kanani and Shojaei 2013; Oktar 2001; Khanjan et al. 2014; Matu and Lubbe 2007); however, here the strategy effectively construes two instructional approaches as perfectly opposite: one good, the other bad.

A third discourse related to *Quality of Education* has to do with what parents present as the LEXICAL INADEQUACY of NDLs for instruction, especially in the case of minoritised languages still in the early stages of development.

	Positive	**Negative**
Us	Express	Suppress
Them	Suppress	Express

FIGURE 3.3: Van Dijk's Ideological Square: the axes labels represent four types of information specific to an event. Expressing and suppressing information as shown results in positive self-presentation of Us and negative other-presentation of Them without overtly objecting to Them.

In support of DLs, parents construe NDLs as too primitive and therefore, inadequate when teaching concepts for which there is no vocabulary.[10] One key characteristic of the discourse is to emphasise the lack of scientific, mathematical and/or technological terms (e.g. Lopes 1998; Qorro 2005; Vuzo 2010). Again, ideological squaring is an important feature of the discourse and its effectiveness is commensurate to the power distance between the languages that are 'squared off'. For example, parents in Muthwii's Kenyan study (2004) compared what they viewed as the lexical richness of English to the lexical poverty of Kalenjin—a contest in a constructed space (e.g. teaching and learning materials, availability of newspapers and books) where Kalenjin is doomed to fail. In this regard, a LEXICAL INADEQUACY discourse has the most punishing effect on the most fragile languages. Furthermore, the discourse is not limited to vocabulary but is also expanded to general knowledge in a manner that construes DLs as containers of vast knowledge from a wide human collective versus NDLs construed as containers of local knowledge from a confined (i.e. socially-excluded) human collective. Annamalai describes the opposition from parents through this discourse to use Indian languages at Indian universities:

> The opposition to changing the medium of education from English

[10] See Ouane and Glanz (2010) for a discussion of strategies to develop African languages for higher levels of education.

> at the university level, which percolates down to the school level, is based on the presumption that learning through an Indian language will disadvantage students because they will not be able to access modern knowledge, which is mostly encoded in English. (Annamalai 2004, p.188)

As one looks at discourses preferring DLoIs, a logic chain quickly begins to emerge that is represented below in figure 3.4:

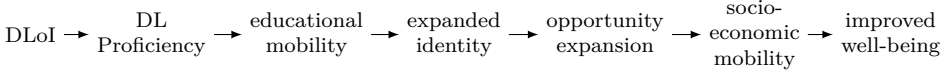

FIGURE 3.4: Logic chain based on parental assumptions

A discourse that favours DLoIs can be constructed at any stage but the further it is located down the chain, the more potential for earlier stages and the cause-effect relationships between them to become obfuscated. Left as implicit assumptions, they go unchallenged and eventually develop into notions of common sense. For example, the ECONOMIC MOBILITY discourse is constructed on the second to last stage and takes all of the stages before it for granted. This demonstrates the logical leap a parent makes when placing their child in a foreign-language immersion program in the first year of primary school based on the promise of a better career.

The discourses grouped under language learning objectives (*LL Objectives*) in table 3.4 reflect reasoning that connects the first two stages of the logic chain. In 15 publications, researchers lamented confusion among parents who conflate language instruction with language teaching. The reasons parents presented were coded IMMERSION. In the literature, these reasons were not presented explicitly as a matter of pedagogy geared to LL. Instead, parent's comments were more typical of what Graham observed from Kipfokomo-speaking parents in Kenya who, 'felt there was no need for children to learn Kipfokomo at school because they already knew the language from home' (2010, p.314). This perspective was also seen in studies by Nomlomo (2006) and Muthwii (2004). As Nomlomo correctly points out, these kinds of statements reveal 'the parents' misunderstanding of learning a language as a subject and using it as a medium of instruction' (2006, p.119). Two other discourses that affirm this are parents' fears of DISPLACEMENT (e.g. Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001; Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt 1999;

Dutcher 1995; Lai and Byram 2003; J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013; Linehan 2004; Ndamba 2008; Nomlomo 2006; J. M. Rugemalira 2005) and the belief that when learning DLs through instruction, an EARLIER-THE-BETTER approach is best (e.g. Ada 2012; Alidou et al. 2006; Annamalai 2004; Ball 2010; Brock-Utne 2001; Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001; Rea-Dickins and Yu 2013). A DISPLACEMENT discourse construes the concept of LoI into a competitive 'space-time' (see Fairclough 2003, p.151) where the view is held that any classroom time spent in the mother tongue is time lost to learning other [more important] DLs. An EARLIER-THE-BETTER discourse is little more than the logical result of a DISPLACEMENT discourse. And from what is reported, parents do not connect it—at least not explicitly—to other cognitive development discourses, i.e. that younger children are more adept at learning languages. These two discourses drive the behaviour of parents to support programs with the most and the earliest exposure to DLs and consequently pose a serious challenge to any mother tongue initiatives in formal education.

By virtue of their early position in the logic chain, IMMERSION, DISPLACEMENT and EARLIER-THE-BETTER discourses (driven by parents' *LL Objectives*) are typically left as implicit assumptions in discourses built on later stages of the chain. Nonetheless, they are necessary for all of the discourses presented in table 3.4 with the exception of those connected to **EXTERNAL REALITIES**.

Three more **INSTRUMENTAL** discourses found in the literature are connected to the *Educational Mobility* parents desire for their children. A discourse of ASSESSMENT LOI is presented in support of DLoIs where testing, often in the form of high-stakes examinations, is conducted in DLs (Truong 2012; Qorro 2005; Begi 2014; de Klerk 2002). In this discourse, parents express the need to prepare children for assessment (typically written examinations) by teaching with the same language in which that assessment will be conducted. Rea-Dickins and Yu's important study in Tanzania (2013), however, clearly demonstrates a problem with this reasoning. They reveal how examining Swahili-speaking children in Zanzibar with English instruments is ineffective for assessing their knowledge of subject content. In that study, many secondary school students who performed poorly in national examinations were subsequently successful when retested with Swahili in-

struments. They concluded that the English-only examinations were doing more to assess students' knowledge of English rather than subject content. Similar to the ASSESSMENT LOI discourse, parents also presented a discourse of 'LATER SCHOOL DEMANDS' (Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt 1999, History of Cree Language of Instruction Program, para.7) as a justification for DLoIs to prepare their children for a variety of curricular events such as a pending shift from NDL instruction to DL instruction (Bogale 2009; Ndamba 2008), and/or specific mandatory courses in DLs (Ndamba 2008). Lastly, discourses coded HIGHER-ED OPTIONS reflect statements from parents who view DLoIs as important preparation for their children to access tertiary education in DLs (J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013; Muthwii 2004; Nomlomo 2006; Plüddemann 2010; Trudell 2007; Qorro 2005). In South Africa where there is a desire from educational authorities to promote indigenous languages, Tshotsho (2013) points out that, 'it will not be easy to convince parents to change their mindset as the medium of instruction at university is still English' (p.43).

I originally considered treating these *Educational Mobility* discourses of ASSESSMENT LOI, HIGHER ED OPPORTUNITIES and LATER SCHOOL DEMANDS under **EXTERNAL REALITIES**; however, I reserve that category for reasons which are not part of the logic chain in figure 3.4 and for reasons that do not involve parents' agency. I also argue that these discourses are still very much **INSTRUMENTAL** in their nature and parents are exercising at least some agency to support DLoIs.

Parents' **INSTRUMENTAL** discourses can also be connected to their *Communicative Mobility* goals. A discourse of MOVEMENT purports to open up the world and its opportunities to those who know DLs (e.g. Frasure-Smith, Lambert and D. M. Taylor 1975; Ada 2012; Muthwii 2004; Trudell 2007). King describes the situation in South America for parents of Spanish-speaking children who prefer 'enrichment model' schools where English is taught and/or used for instruction:

> Students, parents, and school staff of enrichment model schools generally participate in the same *imagined community*, sharing the hope that students will master academic content, become fluent in a high status international language such as English or French, move in international circles and become members of the national elite. (King 2004, p.335)

Conversely, a discourse of ISOLATION tends to exaggerate the existence of physical boundaries imposed on individuals who only know NDLs (e.g. Phyak 2013; Plüddemann 2010; Naidoo 2012; Qorro 2005; Woldemariam 2007; Nomlomo 2006). As one Xhosa-speaking parent in South Africa describing the limitations of their mother tongue stated, 'It's for home use but it is not that good for being used elsewhere. It's more like a home appliance' (de Klerk 2002, p.12). These discourses of MOVEMENT and ISOLATION primarily relate to communicative spaces but they can have broader meaning in terms of what it is that people are isolated from or are moving towards. For example, ISOLATION can be expressed as physical (e.g. Woldemariam 2007; Nomlomo 2006; de Klerk 2002), economic (e.g. Naidoo 2012) as well as social (e.g. Phyak 2013). Once again, however, I need to underscore the challenge in categorising these discourses as can be difficult, for example to separate a discourse of economic ISOLATION from one of ECONOMIC MOBILITY.

INTEGRATIVE reasons generated 4 discourses connected to *Social Mobility*. Among those, a discourse of PRESTIGE was the most prevalent in the literature. The discourse reflects the belief that DLs are a form of social capital and therefore, confer higher social status on those connected to them. This is especially true of English and in the case of Hong Kong, English-medium instruction in and of itself was enough to confer prestige:

> Despite the accumulated evidence that the use of mother tongue as the teaching medium is beneficial to most students ..., especially to less able ones, parents and schools are, however, more concerned with the highly valued symbol of English that attaches to an English-medium school. No one would like to lose it. It was no secret that in the past before the strong enforcement of mother tongue education in 1997, many English-medium schools seldom used English but Chinese or a mixed code of Chinese and English to teach their students. To them, English-medium teaching was just the token but the English-medium label could mean fame, success and talent, and they did not like to let go of this *gifted* label. (Lai and Byram 2003, p.323)

The PRESTIGE discourse emerged in 20 publications making it the second-most common discourse supporting DLoIs after ECONOMIC MOBILITY. The semiotic features of this discourse are varied but they generally construe

embellished identities for either the people who speak DLs (e.g. Mohamed 2013; Lai and Byram 2003; Plüddemann 2010) or the schools that implement them for instruction (e.g. J. M. Rugemalira 2005; Linehan 2004; Wolff 2011). For example, King's comments above is indicative of the latter whereas what Nomlomo reports from parents in South Africa, is indicative of the former:

> Competence in English is a way of avoiding ridicules and stigmatisation from other people who favour English. People who are proficient in English are treated with high respect and are accorded higher status than those who always express themselves in African languages. (Nomlomo 2006, p.122)

A discourse of WIDER CITIZENSHIP is also a part of the *Social Mobility* interests parents have for their children. It describes support for DLoIs on the grounds that DLs have the ability to elaborate peoples' identities beyond the local and into regional, national and international spaces. There is a lot of similarity here with the MOVEMENT discourse; however, this is built on what *Communicative Mobility* facilitates and that is the belief that people become part of other larger and/or more powerful communities in a way that raises their social status. It is both a pursuit of elitism (e.g. Naidoo 2012; de Klerk 2002; Truong 2012) and assimilation into the DL culture (see de Klerk 2002; R. P. Kemppainen et al. 2008; R. Kemppainen et al. 2004). There was one example where it was also presented as a matter of nationalism: 'English is devoid of tribalism, breaks barriers between communities and enhances national unity' (Muthwii 2004, p.25).

A discourse characterised by negative expressions of *Social Mobility* is that of MISTRUST. This is one of three discourses not found in publications of primary research. And since it is not the voice of parents, I attribute its ownership to researchers who are making claims based on their interpretation of history (see Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001), secondary sources (see Dutcher 1995; Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt 1999), or their own inductive reasoning (see Truong 2012). A discourse of MISTRUST construes efforts by policy-makers to implement NDLoIs as part of a scheme by the elite to maintain their social position by restricting access to DLs. Truong describes resistance from parents to NDLoIs who have

> become suspicious that officials and teachers do not want their children to succeed and want to prevent them access to power, symbolized by the world language that was denied to them during colonial times. (2012, p.9)

The literature contexts where this discourse emerges can be characterised by large disparities of wealth and social status between the competing language communities; however, the nature of the relationship between the context and the discourse is not a simple one. More important to this study, however, is whether MISTRUST exists or not and I argue that it does. First, it is unlikely parents from already marginalised communities would openly express this politically-incorrect belief in formal research—it was not presented in any of the interviews I conducted and from a cultural perspective, I would have been taken aback if it was. Second, in casual settings, I have heard the discourse expressed by Tanzanian colleagues on multiple occasions. And third, Tanzanian social media outlets give opportunity to access texts posted in the presumed safety of anonymity. One such outlet, JamiiForums (which bears the tag-line, 'Where we dare to talk openly'), hosts a variety of fora but is most popular for its political discussions.[11] With minimal effort, the MISTRUST discourse can be found in many threads discussing LoI. Consider the following post:

> Kuna maana gani viongozi wa Serikali, bunge na vyama vya siasa kusomesha watoto wao English medium schools halafu wanaacha watoto wa wengine wasome Swahili medium? Huu ni unafiki mkubwa. (*Jamii Forums* 2020) (My translation: Why is it that government officials, parliament and political parties enrol their children in English-medium schools but then abandon the children of everyone else to Swahili-medium [schools]? This is major hypocrisy.)

The post has generated a lengthy thread of 78 comments, several of which present the MISTRUST discourse as an answer to the original poster's question. For example, one comment suggests, 'Huo ni mpango mahsusi wa watawala kutengeneza madaraja . . . , wale wachovu kizazi chao kisome shule za kichovu.' (*Jamii Forums* 2020, p.2). (My translation: That is a special

[11] JamiiForums boasts well over 500,000 members and more than 34,000,000 posts.

arrangement by officials to construct social classes—those poor people's children can study in poor schools.)

Makoni and Trudell (2006) explain parents' rejection of MTE as an attempt to prevent them from accessing Western knowledge and power. Makoni and Pennycook (2007) further explain the role schools play in accessing that knowledge and power:

> Some indigenous communities object to being taught in 'their mother tongue' because schooling is perceived not as the place were [*sic*] knowledge is transmitted, but as a point of contact between the 'indigenous world and the white-man's world'. Non-indigenous languages (i.e. European languages) are regarded as central to that contact. Education and the transmission of knowledge from the perspective of indigenous communities takes place in the oral tradition in the home. (p.29)

If this assessment of parents' perspectives is correct, it is not at all surprising that a platform of rights and/or results fails to convince them to embrace MTE. Educational authorities and the language development community then, must seek to better understand what it is that communities feel they are lacking and work with them to discover ways to appropriately address those felt needs.

The last discourse connected to *Social Mobility* and unique to just one study has to do with LEXICAL RESPECT. Nomlomo identified Xhosa-speaking parents who supported English instruction for their children because they associated it 'with respect and a way of avoiding vulgar language that cannot be avoided in isiXhosa' (Nomlomo 2006, p.122). This may simply be a creative expression of the PRESTIGE discourse but not having seen anything like this expressed elsewhere, I leave it to stand on its own.

INFORMATION-RELATED discourses are a unique category in that rather than describing the knowledge parents have embraced regarding LoI practises, they describe knowledge that parents lack. And similar to the MISTRUST discourse, they also need to be owned by researchers and not parents. This is because they are imposed as explanations of DLoI preferences based on researchers' beliefs that parents are uninformed and

misguided.

A discourse of IGNORANCE on the part of parents comprised most of the discourses that were **INFORMATION-RELATED**. Researchers' positions varied in terms of the kind of information parents lacked. Some viewed it as knowledge about the difference between language instruction and language *of* instruction (e.g. Woldemariam 2007; Qorro 2009; Wolff 2011)—a discourse in response to parents' IMMERSION discourse.[12] Others viewed it as a lack of knowledge about policy-making procedures and the role parents are [unknowingly] abdicating in policy dialogue (Phyak 2013; Wolff 2011). Most, however, view it as a lack of knowledge about the efficacy of MTE for students' learning performance (e.g. Lai and Byram 2003; Begi 2014; Ndamba 2008; Lopes 1998). Alidou et al. (2006) take a more critical stance explaining parents' lack of knowledge as 'deep-rooted negative prejudice . . . which stems from traumatic experiences during the colonial times' (2006, p.42)

Two other **INFORMATION-RELATED** discourses are critical of parents' *Credulity* when it comes to the kind of information they rely on. The first, a discourse of ELITE INFLUENCE, construes parents as looking to the elite as the example to follow. Without regard for other factors, they attribute elitism to competence in DLs, which is viewed as a product of the DLoIs elites were privileged with in school—a privilege they continue to secure for their children (see Phyak 2013; Alidou et al. 2006; Wolff 2011; Plüddemann 2010). Phyak articulates the discourse clearly in his Nepalese study:

> We see that the ideological issues concerning the MLE policy stem from the history of linguistic oppression and hierarchical social structure of the country. The social elites are considered as role models, and their ideas and actions are often legitimized in the mainstream society. As Nepali and English stand as symbolic capital and a key aspect of elitism, indigenous communities do not resist the language policy that is imposed—explicitly and implicitly—over them and their children in school. (Phyak 2013, p.136)

[12] This dialectical nature of discourses in the formation of social practices is discussed further in section 2.2.1.

Analagous to ELITE INFLUENCE, a discourse of POLICY CLOUT is given as another explanation for the lack of awareness parents have about the value of their languages in education. The discourse presents parents as reflecting or even inheriting the values political authorities adopt towards NDLs (Ndamba 2008; Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001). For example, Qorro (2013) describes Tanzanian parents as believing 'that the government "knows" what the best policy for education is and they will not question this kind of policy move' [p.32].[13]

EXTERNAL REALITIES is a category of four discursive practices representing parents' belief in contextual realities that dictate instruction must be carried out in DLs. The first construes DLoIs as necessary for classrooms comprising students with a collective MIXED ETHNICITY (see Begi 2014; Graham 2010). In these contexts, the discourse argues that DLs are more appropriate for instructing children with different mother tongues in the same classroom. Graham shares the following comment from one head teacher struggling to implement Pokomo instruction in a Kenyan school where Swahili and English are DLs:

> We had one meeting last year with specifically the pre-primary parents . . . I took that opportunity to introduce this matter of MTE. Some of them were negative. They were saying I think it is not fair because we have a population of around fifty-fifty Cushitic and Pokomo in Standards 1, 2 and 3. (Graham 2010, p.315)

It is not clear, however, how the argument against NDLoIs is structured in a discourse of MIXED ETHNICITY. It appears to be a matter of equality but that begs the question, what inequality is being addressed through DLoIs? If the inequality is that NDLoIs privilege one group of students over others, then does the implementation of DLoIs produce equity by disprivileging that group? If this is indeed the case, the logic is highly problematic since it essentially argues against foreign language instruction by arguing for it.

The second discourse resulting from **EXTERNAL REALITIES** is that of ENGLISH INEVITABILITY or to state it less delicately, the idea that

[13] See Bourdieu (1991) for a more robust discussion of this issue.

English is taking over and there is little reason to cling to other languages. de Klerk describes the sentiment of parents who 'had capitulated to the power of English and accepted that it was going to dominate in the future lives of their children' (2002, p.13).

A third discourse of LANGUAGE DEATH was also reported in the same study by de Klerk (2002). This discourse construes NDLs as facing imminent death and DLs as viable, stable options for the future. In both the ENGLISH INEVITABILITY discourse and the LANGUAGE DEATH discourse, the justification or rationale for DLoIs is not made explicit. For example, the relationship between the perceived dying of a language and its appropriateness for instruction is not discussed. While one should certainly question the implementation of a threatened language for classroom instruction, the language's status may have no implications as to its suitability for that purpose. To the contrary, threatened languages have been intentionally implemented as a strategy for their revitalisation. As seen above, this has happened in New Zealand, Wales and Zimbabwe. Also in the literature under review, Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt (1999) discuss similar efforts for the Cree in Canada.

The fourth and final discourse from the literature connected to **EXTERNAL REALITIES** is labelled by Phyak as an ideology of 'monolingualism' or 'multilingualism-as-a-problem' (2013, p.135). I prefer to call it a discourse of FEASIBILITY for its rejection of MTE based entirely on practicality. A discourse of FEASIBILITY declares that it is impractical for a state to develop multiple indigenous languages for instruction, especially where they number in the hundreds. The discourse, however, was presented by parents from the DL community in Phyak's study but I include it here to make a point regarding all of these discourses that construe **EXTERNAL REALITIES** as impassible obstacles to MTE/MLE. From personal experience in 19 rural and indigenous language communities in Tanzania, I have not encountered these discourses from parents. However, I have heard all of them on multiple occasions from policy-makers, educational authorities and the elite, especially parents in Semi-rural and Urban settings who are heavily invested in English instruction for their children.

3.2.2 Parents and Researchers: Harmonized Ideologies

As was demonstrated in table 3.3, the reviewed literature reports a clear preference for DLoIs. But regardless of this strong ambition to expose children to DLs through instruction, voices in favour of NDLoIs also came to light. These were either a minority in the studies or they belonged to groups who preferred multilingual education and/or MTE. I organised the reasons favouring NDLoIs using a similar approach to those for DLoIs. They emerged as 15 discourses which I present below in table 3.5 with their coding structure. The **INSTRUMENTAL** and **INTEGRATIVE** distinction continued to prove its value as a major contrasting feature.

TABLE 3.5: Parental discourses favouring NDLoIs with reference counts from 63 publications (coding key: **TOP LEVEL**, *Sub-category*, DISCOURSE LABEL)

INSTRUMENTAL		**INTEGRATIVE**	
Quality of Education		*Identity*	
EASIER TO LEARN	12	PERSONAL MAINTENANCE	11
IMPROVED OUTCOMES	4	GROUP MAINTENANCE	5
MT SCAFFOLDING	3	VALIDATION	3
BETTER ENVIRONMENT	2	WELL-BEING	2
PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT	2	LINGUISTIC RIGHTS	1
CULTURAL RELEVANCE	2	HOME INTEGRATION	2
ECONOMIC MOBILITY	2	SCHOOL INTEGRATION	2
		DL CULTURE INTEGRATION	1

INSTRUMENTAL discourses favouring NDLoIs are mostly connected to *Quality of Education*. An EASIER TO LEARN discourse was presented by parents who recognised their children were able to take in content through instruction in languages with which their children were more familiar. Contexts with the clearest motivation for parents to prefer NDLoIs were in the United States. Immigrant parents from Korea (J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013) as well as Mexico, El Salvador and Guatemala (Monzó 2005) perceived an advantage for their children to be instructed in Korean and Spanish respect-

ively. Parents in post-1997 Hong Kong also recognised learning improvements when their children received instruction in Chinese but they demonstrated reluctance where they felt it would come at a cost to English (Lai and Byram 2003; Tung, Lam and Tsang 1997). Agency appears to play a role in the difference between parents' enthusiasm in the American and Hong Kong contexts, the latter being a situation where Chinese instruction was imposed on parents. The remaining voices in the literature espousing an EASIER TO LEARN discourse came from African countries (see Alidou et al. 2006; Chimbutane and Benson 2012; de Klerk 2002; Iyamu and Ogiegbaen 2007; Muthwii 2004; Nomlomo 2006; Telli 2014; Trudell 2007). The degree of agency exercised by parents varied in each context but what is worth noting is that parents only perceived a learning advantage after enrolling their children in NDLoI programs, thus, affirming the notion that one has to 'see it to believe it.' It is a concerning but important point—especially for educational authorities—that MLE efforts for marginalised communities will most likely need to be driven by outsiders.

A discourse of IMPROVED OUTCOMES describes parents' perceptions of their children's improved academic performance as a result of NDLoIs. This was mostly limited to children's reading and writing outcomes (see Alidou et al. 2006; Chimbutane and Benson 2012; Linehan 2004) since situations in the literature typically involve DLs being used for instruction in upper primary and beyond. Chimbutane and Benson reports the comments of a father in Mozambique who had children in both mono- and bilingual programs:

> I am very happy with this way of teaching using Chope. For example, I now have three children studying over here. The one who started schooling in Chope is now in grade 5. ... She is well advanced. Even her teacher praises her very much. I am also very happy with what she writes, in contrast with the one who started schooling in Portuguese ... despite studying in Portuguese. This is because, first of all, he doesn't even know the Portuguese language he is learning! (2012, p.12)

Nomlomo's study (2006) was somewhat of an exception as it involved South African parents who opted into a trial program that used Xhosa for Science instruction through grades 4–6. Children's academic performance in

the trial 'raised [parents'] hopes for better examination results (at Grade 12) among isiXhosa-speaking learners' (p.127).

The MT SCAFFOLDING discourse could arguably be grouped with IMPROVED OUTCOMES but I keep it separate for contrast with its opposing discourse, IMMERSION (see table 3.4 above). The discourse reflects a process where instruction in the more familiar NDL results in better language skills, which are then available for learning the DL. The concept is based on Cummins's 'linguistic interdependence hypotehesis' (Cummins 1981); however, I describe it as 'scaffolding' to draw attention to the intended removal of the MT once certain goals in the DL have been obtained. It is difficult, however, to discern from the 3 publications what it is that parents are perceiving is going on. Prošić-Santovac and Radović (2018) describe it as 'using L1 for scaffolding meaning in L2, i.e. as a mediating strategy' (p.296). Tung, Lam and Tsang (1997) reported that parents in their study 'seem to have a slightly better feeling for the Linguistic Interdependence Principle' (p.457). Nomlomo (2006) simply states parents 'perceive it as a good foundation in learning English' (p.129) but also offers the following example (and translation) from his data:

> *. . . awuzukukwazi ukuyipela i-English ungasazi isiXhosa . . . uqale wazi isiXhosa . . .*
> . . . you will be unable to spell in English if you do not know isiXhosa . . . you must first know isiXhosa . . . (p.129)

A BETTER ENVIRONMENT discourse describes parents' positive evaluation of their children's immediate learning context. The discourse is another one of three not found in primary research but it emerged in two discussion papers representing very different situations. Graham (2010) notes Kenyan parents with children in a young MLE program who 'liked the liveliness and interaction that learning through Kipfokomo produced' (p.315). Jones and Martin-Jones describe the sentiment of parents in Wales with children in an established Welsh-language program as being 'attracted by the ethos of some local Welsh schools and by the high quality of education offered in them' (2004, p.49).

Parents with limited proficiency in DLs and who had experienced a trans-

ition of their children to NDLoIs appreciated the ability to have deeper engagement with their children's school work and teachers. This was expressed through a discourse of PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT. Iyamu and Ogiegbaen's Nigerian survey of 1,500 parents with primary school-aged children and 1,000 primary school teachers revealed 74.6% of parents and 71.4% of teachers agreed 'that early education in the mother tongue makes it possible for illiterate parents to support their children's learning at home' (2007, p.101). Also, J. S. Lee and Jeong (2013) studied parents and teachers in a dual language immersion program in southern California and found parents preferred the program for the way it strengthened communication with teachers and promoted 'a positive and active relationship between the home and school' (p.96).

The last discourse identified promoting **INSTRUMENTAL** benefits for *Quality of Education* are parents' construals of CULTURAL RELEVANCE as a result of NDLoIs. The discourse articulates what parents view as a more effective curriculum since NDLoIs are more suited for the inclusion of culturally relevant content that enhances student learning and outcomes. For example, Iyamu and Ogiegbaen (2007) reported that in Nigeria, 'a majority of the parents (74.8%) and teachers (55.1%) agreed that this policy is useful for integrating traditional values and norms into the curriculum' (p.101). Interestingly, this preference still could be directed at DL acquisition since the same study also reports:

> A majority of the teachers (72.3%) and a minority of the parents (45.1%) felt that early education in mother tongue provides wider scope of experiences which support learning through English language later in life. (Iyamu and Ogiegbaen 2007, p.103)

Ball and Mcivor express the discourse negatively (e.g. CULTURAL IRRELEVANCE) in their report of the situation in Labrador, Canada. They partly blame high rates of student absenteeism among Innu children on the basis that they and their parents view the curriculum as foreign with little cultural relevance to their lives (2013).

One discourse not connected to *Quality of Education* but staunchly **INSTRUMENTAL** is ECONOMIC MOBILITY. I was surprised to see the

same discourse that was vigorously connected to DLs, also connected to NDLs. This is another one of the three discourses not found in publications of primary research but economic mobility as a benefit of NDLoIs only emerged in two publications from the literature reviewed. The studies represented very different contexts but one condition was similar: where the environment is perceived to support economic mobility for speakers of NDLs, those NDLs garner more preference from parents. One example came from the Welsh study where a noted increase in parents enrolling their children in Welsh-medium schools is attributed to the increased usage of Welsh in the public sector (Jones and Martin-Jones 2004). Another example came from the discussion of Cree in northern Quebec where Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt (1999) report on parents' preferences across four instructional models that varied in the ratio of Cree to English instruction. They draw on previous work by Tanner (1981):

> Tanner found that parents were not consistently in favor of any one of the four options developed by the Curriculum Development Team, but that those in communities with more traditional economies tended to prefer the options with more Cree. (Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt 1999, p.4)

These claims by Jones and Martin-Jones and Burnaby, MacKenzie and Salt generate some important questions. They point to a need for social structures that are more supportive of indigenous languages beyond the context of the school if MLE efforts are to succeed. But what might that support consist of and who is responsible for providing it? Also, can thresholds be determined? For example, is it possible to define a set of contextual conditions essential for a successful MLE implementation?

INTEGRATIVE reasons offered by parents in support of NDLoIs were mostly connected to *Identity* and of these, a discourse of PERSONAL MAINTENANCE surfaced in 11 publications. As the label implies, the discourse reflects parents' belief that extending the use of their languages into the space of formal education supports language maintenance. The focus, however, is not on group language preservation/revitalisation (i.e. our people keeping our language) but rather on personal language preservation/revitalisation (i.e. my daughter keeping her language). In this discourse, language is closely

linked to or construed as a carrier of culture. The strongest positions came from immigrant parents in the United States and Estonia. Korean-Americans in the United States preferred dual language immersion because they 'valued the programme's capacity to enhance Korean-American children's respect for their ethnic identity and heritage' (J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013, p.95). Similarly, Latino parents in the United States

> expressed a desire for children to have a sense of identity that was rooted in their own countries of origin, and they believed that their ability to speak Spanish was tied to this sense of identity. (Monzó 2005, p.374).

Russian immigrants living in Estonia also linked Russian instruction to their goals of maintaining their children's Russian heritage; however, this interest declined where some immigrants had Estonian heritage and were seeking to reconnect with that part of their history (R. P. Kemppainen et al. 2008; R. Kemppainen et al. 2004).

Parents also voiced their support for NDLoIs including MTE through the PERSONAL MAINTENANCE discourse. Other than linking NDLoIs to the benefit of preserving heritage, however, the PERSONAL MAINTENANCE discourse is difficult to characterise. The use of NDLoIs were construed as key to processes of cultural development (Alidou et al. 2006), cultural promotion (Iyamu and Ogiegbaen 2007), and knowing where one 'comes from' as in connecting with one's 'roots' (de Klerk 2002, p.11). It was also presented as a form of loyalty to one's inalienable language of origin. For example, Tsung and Cruickshank report that 'the most common reason for parents ... to choose Uyghur schools for their children, was along the lines of "because Uyghur is our own language"' (Tsung and Cruickshank 2009, p.555).[14] Lastly, PERSONAL MAINTENANCE was also expressed negatively as a critique of English instruction through construals of alienation (Mohamed 2013) and cultural confusion (Muthwii 2004).

A discourse of GROUP MAINTENANCE differs from one of PERSONAL MAINTENANCE in that it refers to group language preservation/revitalisation

[14]These statements of ownership were common in this study. Posession and positionality is discussed in section 5.1.1. See the discussions of tables 5.3 and 5.4.

(i.e. our people keeping our language) instead of personal language preservation/revitalisation (i.e. my daughter keeping her language). And although the focus in this discourse appears to be about language per se (i.e. as an INTSTRUMENTAL benefit), it is the role that language plays in a collective identity that is being valued (i.e. as an **INTEGRATIVE** benefit). Consider the following from R. P. Kemppainen et al.'s study of Russian immigrants in Estonia:

> Parents may send their children to a school providing instruction in the first language as a way of passing on the native culture in addition to a sense of belonging to the extended family and its origins. As Fernand de Varennes (1995–96, 107) put it, language is often central to feelings of community and culture, of tradition and belonging. (2008, p.111)

Stronger positions of GROUP MAINTENANCE could be noted in more established projects initiated by revitalisation efforts in Wales (Jones and Martin-Jones 2004) and New Zealand(May 2004). But also, parents who have more recently evaluated their experiences with NDLoIs in Mozambique (see Chimbutane and Benson 2012) and South Africa (see de Klerk 2002) expressed similar sentiments; that NDLoIs advance language maintenance in a way that benefits the wider language community.

Another discourse offered in defense of NDLoIs for their ability to bolster *Identity* had to do with VALIDATION. This discourse construes the use of NDLoIs in formal school settings as a way of legitimising those languages (Benson 2004) or conversely, de-legitimising them in the case of DLoIs (Mavunga 2010). Nomlomo discusses the positive feeling of parents towards the elevation of Xhosa through its use for instruction in conjunction with the arrival of Xhosa on automated banking machines:

> Linked to the use of isiXhosa as a medium of instruction, some parents became even more excited with the inclusion of isiXhosa in some bank transactions. To them this was the beginning of economic and technological advancement of African languages that would in the long term change the people's mindsets about using these languages in education. (2006, p.127)

This affirms the view presented above that NDLoIs benefit from greater support outside of the classroom.

Some parents connected NDLoIs to positive emotional health, further supporting *Identity* through a discourse of WELL-BEING. Iyamu and Ogiegbaen found that some Nigerian parents perceived that MTE not only facilitated 'children's psycho-social development' but also made 'school less traumatic for children' (2007, p.103). Also J. S. Lee and Jeong noted Korean-American parents voiced appreciation for how 'their children's self-esteem can be somewhat protected' (2013, p.97) through Korean instruction since children are not pressured to perform in English at the same level as their English peers in the early grades.

The last discourse I associate with *Identity* is one of LINGUISTIC RIGHTS. It was argued earlier (see section 3.1.2) that linguistic rights have not been efficacious as a strategy for advancing socially excluded linguistic communities and I further argue that the presentation of a LINGUISTIC RIGHTS discourse in just one of 63 publications discussing parents LoI preferences affirms that claim. The discourse emerged in Nomlomo's South African study of Xhosa-speaking parents but only as an after-the-fact realisation brought about through an MLE intervention:

> Seemingly, the [Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa] Project served as an eye-opener to parents to realise the language rights of their children. Not only did it open their eyes to things that they were deprived of in the past, but it also stimulated their pride in isiXhosa as their mother tongue. (Nomlomo 2006, p.126)

In all of the discourses connected to *Identity* above, further research needs to establish what the perceived relationship is between the implementation of a given NDL for instruction and the perceived identity benefits for the people who speak that language. For example, in figure 3.4, a logic chain was presented to describe the relationship between DLoIs and various **INSTRUMENTAL** and **INTEGRATIVE** benefits. This was built on a set of connected assumptions (e.g. instructing in a language produces effective speakers of that language) but it is less clear how NDLoIs are construed

as generating the kind of robust *Identity* results parents presented in the literature.

The three remaining discourses in table 3.5 directly support parents' **INTEGRATIVE** objectives and they are specific about the nature of that integration. The first, a discourse of HOME INTEGRATION, construes stronger communication and relationships between children and their extended family (and local community if relevant) when their languages are supported in school. In J. S. Lee and Jeong's study (2013), Korean-American parents reported that Korean instruction resulted in improved communication with their children at home. Likewise, Xhosa parents in South Africa reported the same but placed greater value on children's ability to engage with grandparents through Xhosa (de Klerk 2002). de Klerk, however, does add that 'those who were not strongly enthusiastic about the need to preserve and build up their language often made the point that simply speaking Xhosa (sometimes rather badly) was sufficient' (2002, p.11).

A second discourse of SCHOOL INTEGRATION describes NDLoIs as helping 'to bridge home and school experiences' (Iyamu and Ogiegbaen 2007, p.101). J. S. Lee and Jeong articulate this discourse in a very clear example of parent-teacher integration through language:

> The Korean parents mentioned that if the teachers had not spoken Korean, they would not have felt comfortable participating in school activities. The teachers appreciated and welcomed the parents' involvement in school events, especially when preparing for cultural activities and performances. As both teachers immigrated to the USA when they were young, they had limited experiences with formal education and culture in Korea. Therefore, the parents served as a valuable resource in that they filled the gap between the teachers' understanding and experiences of the Korean culture and the more modern Korean society of today. (2013, p.96)

Lastly, the same study by J. S. Lee and Jeong also revealed a discourse of DL CULTURE INTEGRATION which construes NDLoIs as helping children to more effectively learn the DL culture through the framework of their own. One parent described it as 'a kind of stepping stone in their acculturation

process' (p.97) and another as 'a platform on which their children could slowly assimilate to schooling in the USA with less culture shock' (p.97). A third even expressed hope for their son to one day work in Korean-USA relations. The DL CULTURE INTEGRATION discourse resembles the MT SCAFFOLDING discourse, the difference being the acquisition goal of culture as opposed to language. In both discourses, however, the idea of scaffolding is implied where competence in one's own language and culture provides proficiencies that are common to other languages and cultures—part of the linguistic interdependence hypothesis which Cummins's describes as the 'Common Underlying Proficiency' model (1981, p.35). And as is the case for MT SCAFFOLDING, the goal is to transition away from reliance on the NDLoIs once certain goals in the DL culture have been achieved.

Another important contrast needs to be made here with the discourse of WIDER CITIZENSHIP (discussed above as part of the discourses favouring DLoIs in table 3.4) where some parents construed DLoIs as a pathway to full assimilation into the DL culture (see de Klerk 2002). The difference between assimilation in WIDER CITIZENSHIP and integration in DL CULTURE INTEGRATION is a matter of whether or not the NDL culture is retained. In the case of assimilation, one abandons their own NDL culture in an effort to fully adopt the DL culture. In the case of integration, one retains their own NDL culture but seeks to additionally acquire competence in the DL culture. To the former, in Rubagumya's evaluation of English-medium schools in Tanzania (2003), he describes a class of some elites as aspiring to become 'Afro-Saxons' (p.157–158), a term he borrows from Ali A. Mazrui and Ali Al'Amin Mazrui (1998). Rubagumya contends that '[English Medium Primary] schools and homes of elite parents create an artificial English speaking environment which cannot be sustained in the long run for the moulding of *Afro-Saxons*' (2003, emphasis in original).

3.2.3 Researchers' 'Talk' about the Problem

There were two other discourses construed by researchers in the literature that have important connections to this study. The first was presented 32 times in 20 publications as a discourse of PARENTAL AWARENESS-RAISING. It is a response to the discourse of IGNORANCE discussed above where

researchers construed parents as uninformed and misguided. The discourse is characterised by calls to fill knowledge gaps and in some cases includes a communication strategy. The target audience are parents opposed to MTE and the goal of PARENTAL AWARENESS-RAISING is to change their position. Some researchers are less specific calling for more general awareness-raising to enlighten parents about the overall advantages of MTE (Truong 2012; Qorro 2009; Alidou et al. 2006; Bamgbose 2004; Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001; Dutcher 1995; Lopes 1998; Plüddemann 2010; Rea-Dickins and Yu 2013; Wolff 2011). Others were more specific with a focus on helping parents appreciate certain benefits of MTE such as cultural maintenance (Mohamed 2013; Ndamba 2008; Tshotsho 2013); improving school outcomes (Trudell 2007); 'cognitive development' (Woldemariam 2007, p.233); scaffolding into other languages (Ball 2010); and inclusiveness (Ada 2012). Qorro (2005) takes a more critical approach calling for Tanzanian parents to be enlightened as to just how bad the situation has become with English instruction in that country. Also Phyak (2013) recommends raising awareness to help parents (and other stakeholders) 'resist monolingual ideology and play critical roles to implement local language policies in schools' (p.140).

Where a PARENTAL AWARENESS-RAISING strategy is included, the discourse largely calls for widespread campaigns that positively promote MTE (Ada 2012; Alidou et al. 2006; Ball 2010; Bamgbose 2004; Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001; Dutcher 1995; Mohamed 2013; Ndamba 2008; Phyak 2013; Rea-Dickins and Yu 2013; Truong 2012; Tshotsho 2013). Qorro (2009) and Truong (2012) talk about the need to translate research findings into languages through which parents can access them with Qorro making a commitment to that end.

There are very few, what I would call 'success stories' in the literature where parents from NDL communities expressed strong support for NDLoIs in contexts where DLoIs were available. Not surprisingly the strongest support came from parents heavily invested in indigenous language revitalisation in Wales and New Zealand or immigrant parents seeking instruction in their heritage languages in the United States and Estonia. One success story from the African continent, however, is Linehan's (2004) account of Zambia's Primary Reading Program. When the program was being designed, parents

were identified as the greatest threat to its success because they would likely perceive it as 'a backward move since English has long been the high status language of education, public life, commerce, and therefore opportunity' (p.10). Linehan, however, reports that

> To counter this last threat, [Primary Reading Program] adopted a detailed communications strategy involving a raft of measures using a variety of media. It was argued in newspapers, radio, television, and at public meetings that initial literacy in a familiar language would strengthen both the local languages and English. Once this premise was tested and proven in a number of public pilot trials, the anticipated antagonism virtually evaporated. In general, parents are supportive of the innovations to a surprising degree, taking a new interest in their children's education, and seeming to regard the school and its teachers in a friendlier light. (Linehan 2004, p.10)

Linehan further adds that other countries in the region are taking note. The success of Zambia's primary reading program is a strong affirmation of the ideology behind a PARENTAL AWARENESS-RAISING discourse.

The second discourse presented by researchers in the literature construes parents as being internally conflicted over the matter of LoI. A discourse of TORN PARENTS describes frustrations of navigating globalisation, complex identities, shifting economies and other forces that produce conflicting language goals for parents and their children. The discourse was expressed 12 times in 6 different publications. Most struggled to reconcile their pursuit of DLs and DL cultures with maintaining their local, ethnic identities (see Ball 2010; de Klerk 2002; J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013; Nomlomo 2006). Others feared the loss of their languages (de Klerk 2002; Nomlomo 2006) and even social ostracism from their own communities (de Klerk 2002). On the other hand, parents who saw value in NDLoIs raised concerns their children might miss opportunities only available through DL programs (Muthwii 2004) or in the case of immigrant parents, lag behind behind their friends in the DL culture (J. S. Lee and Jeong 2013).

It may be tempting to obscure a discourse of TORN PARENTS where there is a specific agenda. For example, reports that construe minoritised

indigenous language communities as enthusiastic for any single medium of instruction should be treated with a degree of scepticism as in reality, communities may be 'embracing' an imposition or an inevitability as an act of defeat. A TORN PARENTS discourse is indicative of the highly complicated nature of parents' perspectives on LoI. Some of the publications reviewed signalled a number of concerns as to their ability to adequately handle the topic. Telli's study in Tanzania not only had a sample of just 5 parents but it posed questions that oversimplified the issue such as 'Should Kiswahili or English be the language of instruction at all levels of education in Tanzania?' (2014, p.13). Such a question leaves little opportunity to discuss other LoIs or MLE approaches. Furthermore, Ouane and Glanz (2010) advise against presenting parents with either-or choices since 'parents often select the official language option' (p.45). Iyamu and Ogiegbaen's large sample of 1500 Nigerian parents were also provided with questionnaire items that I would argue were leading the participants. Parents responded to 10 statements through a four-option Likert scale that forced agreement or disagreement (i.e. no options were provided for a neutral position). Nine of the statements were strongly positive about MTE and one was strongly negative about English instruction (see Iyamu and Ogiegbaen 2007, p.102–103).

3.3 Concluding Remarks

Research in this area needs to have a level of complexity built into it that can support the complexity of the phenomena under investigation. Survey instruments such as questionnaires need to be approached with a high degree of caution when used to investigate parents' LoI preferences. If taken at face-value, the data can be misleading. Twaweza, a research organisation in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, conducts surveys on a number of issues through mobile phones provided free of charge to recruited respondents (Uwazi at Twaweza 2013). In a 2015 Tanzanian study, a sample of 1,381 citizens from Tanzania's mainland were asked for their views on education. The study reports 89% of secondary school parents found the LoI shift from Swahili in primary school to English in secondary school difficult. It further reports that 63% of parents proposed the solution that English should be the LoI for primary school. The two results were summarised in a public

brief as 'Fact 5: A majority of parents believe students should be taught in English throughout school' (Ambroz and Mushi 2015, p.5).[15] In the present study, however, none of the parents interviewed rejected the 2015 policy shift to implement Swahili for secondary school instruction and many gave it strong support.[16] But the Twaweza brief concludes that Tanzania's 2015 policy shift is incongruent with what parents want and bemoans the plan to introduce Swahili instruction in secondary schools stating that

> English skills are in huge demand even in Tanzania's labour market. Pulling the focus away from teaching and learning in English (especially in light of Tanzanian children's already low performance on English literacy tests) risks further disadvantaging the emerging Tanzanian workforce. (p.6)

To the delight of the pro-English movement, the report was later picked up by the press and published through various news outlets. I am not at all surprised by the results of the survey but I am surprised by the conclusion drawn. Several other conclusions could have been made from the two results but I would hesitate to draw any. The discussion from the literature reveals that this issue is entrenched in many and often conflicting ideologies that would be opaque to even the best designed questionnaires. Furthermore, in light of what research has presented as a discourse of IGNORANCE on the part of parents, it could be construed as unfair to ask them to speak directly to a solution considering they lack technical knowledge on the matter. This would be tantamount to the medical community surveying patients with no medical training so as to identify the best treatment for a complicated illness and then accepting the solution proposed by the majority without regard for medical science.

The main implication from this literature review for the present study is that when parents enter into an LoI debate, they bring with them a complex and competing set of ideologies. Some of these ideologies were shaped historically and in distant places long before parents took them up. Others are developed in the present as reactions to current realities such as

[15] This was not one of the 63 publications considered in section 3.2 of this literature review.

[16] See section 6.1.2 for further discussion of this.

financial resources, high-stakes examinations and policy changes. Still others seem to reach 'back' from the future, pulling parents into concerns about their children's mobility, potential job opportunities and their identity. And for many parents, support and rejection of specific LoIs is directly linked to the viability of their languages and cultures. In the next chapter then, I describe a methodology designed to access these ideologies and critically evaluate them.

Tables 3.4 and 3.5 are valuable summaries of discourses that were presented by parents to researchers either in dialogue about LoI or through observation. Language development practitioners are encouraged to take note of them, especially those which were presented multiple times across differing contexts as there is high potential that they could be encountered elsewhere. One certainly cannot assume that efforts to introduce indigenous languages into formal curriculum will be welcomed and embraced by the communities who speak those languages. And arming one's self with an advocacy discourse built on linguistic rights or educational outcomes will likely fail to address important instrumental and integrative goals parents attach to specific LoIs. It also needs to be made clear that the groups of discourses favouring DLoIs and NDLoIs are not mutually exclusive 'camps' of parents who have planted themselves firmly on their chosen side of the debate. To the contrary, parents present discourses from both sides and are not necessarily careful to avoid contradicting themselves at this more abstract level of ideology and discourse.

Turning back to the literature on parents reviewed in the previous section, I am grateful for the studies available and for what they reveal. However, more needs to be done. There is a dearth of research on the willingness of parents to educate their children in early schooling through indigenous, minoritised languages. In most of the publications discussed, the research on parents' LoI preferences was not the main focus but rather part of a larger study. In some cases, it was discussed only as a contributing factor to other issues. Elsewhere it is only discussed anecdotally. And yet this widespread social phenomena presents an immense obstacle to heavily-resourced MLE programs backed by the international development community. The present research fills a void by mounting an in-depth, critical investigation into parents' preferences that lays bare ideologies they have adopted related to language and language learning. As such, it has the potential to make a

valuable contribution not only to policy, but also to practice and theory.

Chapter 4

Methodology

In the introduction, I described the research problem as a situation in Tanzania where indigenous language communities could potentially realise important benefits from MLE but that neither the government nor the local communities provide adequate support for the use of indigenous languages in formal education. In the preceding chapters I have argued that a key factor in addressing this problem lies in a better understanding of the support or rejection of MTE by parents and following from that, parents' beliefs are the focus of this study. In chapter two, I discussed my own beliefs—my ontological position and a theoretical strategy to critically study the ideologies that give rise to support and rejection of specific LoIs. I have also discussed the connection between my professional work experience and observations which have led me into MLE advocacy. The point I want to make is that this study is an investigation of potential obstacles to a solution *I* have embraced for a problem *I* have defined. And if I approach the data with an agenda of rationalising MLE, the study risks biases which would treat the views of parents who support MTE as 'correct' and the views of those who reject it as 'incorrect'. My intention, therefore, in this chapter is to not only lay out a methodology that adequately addresses the research questions but also one that adequately addresses parents' concerns by respecting and representing their voice while recognising their agency. With that in mind and at the risk of oversimplification, my intention has ultimately been to understand as best as possible *why they say what they say*. I appreciate the realities they face and the realities they seek as many of the realities they face are obstacles to the ones they seek. The parents who participated in this study face extreme socio-economic disadvantages and this research should not be about advancing my MLE agenda. It needs to be about advancing their well-being and this methodology should reflect that. Three strategies I relied on to work towards this were i.) to use systematic criteria in the selection

of data for analysis and reporting (see Meyrick 2006), ii.) to maintain a commitment to criticality and iii.) to consider parents' discursive practices in light of their own valued linguistic capabilities. I discuss these in more detail in the sections that follow.

4.1 A Qualitative Approach

The aim of this research addresses one overarching question which asks *why* parents support or reject certain LoIs for their children's primary school education. The question itself (e.g. 'why?'), the critical positioning, the chosen methods (e.g. interviews and focus group discussions) and the centrality of CDA situates the study well within the purview of a qualitative research paradigm (Denzin and Lincoln 2008; Seale et al. 2004). That is not to say CDA is unsuited to quantitative approaches (see P. Baker et al. 2008) but this study's interest in ideologies was better served by 'depth' than 'breadth', drawing out longer texts from fewer people—political texts that required both time and rapport to elicit. Furthermore, in order to approach the data with abductive reasoning so as to explore what might actually be going on and understand the mechanisms that give rise to specific discourses, it is necessary to work with layers of texts that have built up over time to eventually become taken-for-granted realities (Crotty 1998). A qualitative approach is well suited to the present goals of studying how social phenomena emerge in social interactions (Silverman and Marvasti 2008). Hammersley provides a useful 'check-list' definition of qualitative research describing it as:

> a form of social inquiry that tends to adopt a flexible and data-driven research design, to use relatively unstructured data, to emphasize the essential role of subjectivity in the research process, to study a small number of naturally occurring cases in detail, and to use verbal rather than statistical forms of analysis. (Hammersley 2013, p.12)

All of these characteristics are true for the present study. It is flexible for the way data-collection had to evolve throughout the process. It is data-driven for the way abductive reasoning is the primary means of moving from the

data to theory. Using semi-structured interviews as the primary method for data-collection produced unique data for each participant. In the next section I discuss how subjectivity is viewed as inescapable in a critical realist paradigm. Research was carried out in context at local schools using a local language through natural conversations with parents and in order to elicit deeper, more meaningful responses, the study was limited to a small number of households to facilitate more time for interviewing. And lastly, the study is almost entirely focused on the analysis of verbal data with minimal consideration of statistical information.

Two interview strategies were used: semi-structured interviews and focus groups. To identify the various discourses Malila parents present in their support and rejection of specific LoIs, semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents of primary school-aged children in six villages where pre-primary instructional languages varied between Malila and Swahili. Responses were sought on matters pertaining to how languages are perceived, learned and used in school and life. Using CDA, parents' talk from the interviews was analysed to draw out key beliefs and ideologies that bear on their LoI preferences. In order to take a critical position, focus group discussions were held with parents to collectively draft a list of their valued linguistic capabilities against which these beliefs and ideologies could be considered. These two interview strategies worked well together. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for their flexibility which allowed for better probing and provoking of ideological talk. Focus group discussions were chosen for their capacity to generate more ideas in shorter time through collective 'brainstorming' and for the way in which those ideas can be taken as more representative of the group than specific individuals.

4.2 Sampling

The research was conducted among the Malila language community in Mbeya Rural District, Mbeya Region, Tanzania.[1] The community is located in an area that surrounds the village of Ilembo and has a population of approxim-

[1]Tanzania is geo-politically organized into a hierarchy that progresses from sub-wards (***vijiji/mitaa***) to wards (***kata***) to districts (***wilaya***) then regions (***mikoa***). The nation is comprised of 30 regions (*Tanzania Government Portal: Tanzania Profile* 2015).

ately 78,000 who speak the Malila language (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021). I was introduced to the community in 2003 during work with SIL International that served 10 indigenous language communities in Mbeya and Iringa regions with foundational language development including orthography design. In 2008, literacy materials had been developed for the Malila language and in 2009, basic literacy classes were introduced locally through two church-based, Malila-medium nursery school programs hosted in the villages of Mbawi and Shiranga.

In Tanzania, children up to and including age 4 are eligible to attend nursery schools, which are typically operated by the private sector. A government-run two-year pre-primary or 'kindergarten' program is available in some locations for children aged 5 and 6 (authorities reported a pre-primary enrolment in 2011 of 1,069,208 pupils (*Tanzania Government Portal: Tanzania Profile* 2015)). Nursery schools (referred to widely by Tanzanians in Swahili as ***checkechea***) do not operate under the oversight of the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Vocational Training but rather under the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Seniors and Children.[2] This created an opportunity to use the Malila language for basic literacy instruction since the ministry concerned had no policy restrictions on LoI whereas all instruction in formal Tanzanian schools (e.g. pre-primary and beyond) should be done in Swahili or English (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2014). It begs the question of whether or not children were old enough for literacy training but two contextual factors brought mostly 5- and 6-year-old children into the Malila nursery schools. The lack of pre-primary programs in rural communities is by far the main reason; however, difficulties in determining age can result in older children with a smaller physical stature not entering primary school—often reported anecdotally as not being able to reach over one's head and grasp the opposite ear (see Jukes 2006). The Malila-medium nursery schools then, despite their name, functioned as pre-primary programs. Henceforth I refer to Malila nursery schools and Swahili pre-primary schools respectively (and more generically) as Malila pre-school (MPS) and Swahili pre-school (SPS).

[2]When the programs were implemented these ministries were respectively called the 'Ministry of Education and Vocational Training' and the 'Ministry of Health and Social Welfare'.

At the launch of the first MPS, parents were sceptical about the program and despite its low enrolment cost of 300 Tanzanian Shillings per month,[3] it received very little support. Conversations with parents revealed they send their children to pre-school so they can be introduced to Swahili instruction as preparation for entering the first year of primary school and therefore, did not see the value in an MPS program. Two information sessions were held with approximately 100 local parents to address their concerns and introduce the concept of teaching basic language skills through MTE that were transferable to other languages. Slowly the programs gained traction, parents started noting the benefits and enrolment began to grow. In 2010 after just one year, the headmasters of the two primary schools located in Mbawi and Shiranga noted an improvement in the performance of children who attended the local MPSs; consequently, they invited the program into the school where it would be more accessible to the wider community. This garnered further support from parents who were not adherents of the churches that were hosting the MPSs. Word spread about the program and two more headmasters followed suit. A third MPS launched in Jojo in 2012 and a fourth launched in Isongole in 2015.

4.2.1 Interviews

The decision to conduct the research among the Malila community was strategic in that it became possible to engage parents who had exposed their children to pre-primary MTE in an indigenous language as well as parents who did not. I was only aware of two other Tanzanian languages in two other regions where similar circumstances could be found but the Malila community was more accessible. I had established relationships in the area and I was already in possession of a work permit with research permissions for the Mbeya region.

In selecting the interview participants, I used a strategy of homogeneous sampling as one kind of purposive sampling carried out by researchers interested in 'in-depth information about a particular subgroup' (Patton 2002, p.235). The research questions specify that Malila parents are the

[3] Approximately $0.25 USD.

focus of the study with the reason being that their support or rejection of MTE needs to be better understood so as to productively inform language planning efforts, especially considerations of MLE. Six sites were established for the interviews. They included the four village schools mentioned above with MPSs and two other village schools where there were SPSs: Ruanda and Ilembo. This allowed me to include the perspective of parents who had enrolled children in both types of LoIs as well as parents whose children went directly into primary school. This was the case for those with children in upper primary at Ruanda since the SPS there had only recently been implemented.

Where possible, parents were interviewed as a couple since it would have been awkward to separate them for a discussion about their children's education. Furthermore it would have been difficult to determine who the primary care-giver was in each situation. The selection of parents was further restricted to those:

1. whose children had attended 1–2 years of an MPS for parents from Jojo, Mbawi, Shiranga and Isongole or an SPS for parents from Ruanda and Ilembo;
2. who had enrolled children in the first year of primary school within the last three years;
3. who physically live within the 6 school catchment areas;
4. who use Malila as the primary language for communication within the home; and
5. who can converse in Swahili.

The purpose of 1 and 2 was to ensure that the sample had a mix of parents with children in both MPS and SPS programs as well as ensuring that all of the participants had children who were approximately of pre- or primary-school ages.[4] The purpose of 3 and 4 was to ensure that Malila was the primary language of the participants' children. The purpose of 5 was to ensure that parents could participate in the interviews. Unfortunately, this

[4]Determining children's ages is not always possible and reported ages are unreliable.

led to the exclusion of parents who only spoke Malila but in this particular age demographic (e.g. parents with children in early primary), the majority of parents would have attended school and been conversant in Swahili and therefore, are more representative of the wider community. This is not to say, however, that further research should not be done in this area. The choice of the Malila community in combination with these specifications on participants sought to define the sub-group and to some extent, dictate the context as a basis for comparing the study's findings to other similar contexts. I give an overview of the participants in table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1: Participants and Research Sites

Site	Program	Parents(n)	Households(n)
Jojo	MPS	10	5
Mbawi	MPS	10	5
Shiranga	MPS	9	5
Isongole	MPS	11	6
Ilembo	SPS	15	11
Ruanda	SPS	10	5
		Total: 65	37

Of the 37 households interviewed, 28 were represented by both a mother and father and 9 were represented by one parent. Where only one parent was interviewed, 5 were fathers whose wives were absent (unfortunately 4 of these were the result of conducting interviews on a market day), 3 were single mothers and one other mother's husband was not able to attend. Almost all of the participants were farmers. One was both a farmer and the pastor of a church and another was a student but the remaining 63 worked in subsistence agriculture.

To get an indication of whether or not parents were aware if their children were enrolled in an MPS or not, I asked them to name their children's pre-school LoI. Interestingly, of the 21 households who sent children to an MPS, 16 reported the LoI as Malila but 5 households believed their children were in an SPS. Furthermore, of the 16 households who sent their children to an SPS, two households reported that the teacher frequently used Malila to

communicate with pupils who struggle in Swahili.

4.2.2 Focus Groups

Understanding parents' valued linguistic capabilities was an important step in establishing a context for thinking critically about the interview data. For this reason, efforts were made to hold focus group discussions with the same parents who participated in the interviews. The sampling criteria, therefore, did not change. Three focus groups are suggested as the minimum number necessary for comparative and contrastive analysis (Krueger and Casey 2009). By eliciting lists in 6 focus groups, the similarities across them were reinforced.

TABLE 4.2: Focus Group Discussion Participants

			Mothers(n)		Fathers(n)	
Site	Households(n)	Parents(n)	Return	New	Return	New
Jojo	8	11	3	2	3	3
Mbawi	8	8	1	2	3	2
Shiranga	8	10	3	2	3	2
Isongole	13	15	2	7	2	4
Ilembo	6	9	3	1	4	1
Ruanda	5	10	5	0	5	0
Total:	48	63	17	14	20	12

A summary of the focus group discussion participants is given in table 4.2. A total of 63 parents took part among whom 37 were returning interview participants and 26 were new to the study. There were 48 households represented.

4.3 Methods

Interviewing and focus group discussions were the methods used for gathering the data needed to answer the research questions. All data from the interviews was recorded, transcribed and entered into CAQDAS. A list of valued capabilities was aggregated and compiled from the focus group discussions and the Interview data was analysed following Fairclough's dialectical relational approach to CDA. I discuss these methods of data collection and analysis in the following sections.

4.3.1 Data Collection

On May 14, 2016 I travelled to the town of Mbeya and rented a home for three months. The research sites were approximately 65 kilometres to the south and were accessible by bus, taxi, bodaboda[5] and private vehicles. The roads were unpaved but graded and well travelled since Mbeya town is an important commercial centre for the surrounding rural communities. Heavy rains can be an issue but I intentionally chose the dry season for the research so I could not only avoid potential washouts but also work with parents at a slower time in the farming cycle. The strategy worked well but came with the cold temperatures of winter in the Tanzanian Southern Highlands—temperatures often dropped below 5° Celsius at night. With just three months to develop the interview and focus group guides, conduct trials through pilot testing, carry out the formal interviews and focus groups and finish with any follow up work, there was little margin for error. Everything needed to be collected by August 13th as it would be difficult to do any kind of effective follow-up work from Canada.

To facilitate greater freedom in movement between Mbeya and the research sites, I purchased a second-hand motorcycle the same day I arrived in Dar es Salaam and shipped it to Mbeya. It took approximately one hour and forty-five minutes to ride from Mbeya to Ilembo—one of the research sites and also a more established village centrally located to the other five research sites. There was a small guest house there which made it possible

[5]Small motorcycles, usually 125 cc, that typically take one passenger.

to spend multiple days at a time in the village; however, I found it more productive to stay in Mbeya and do concentrated bouts of data collection over short trips to Ilembo rather than being based in Ilembo.

Semi-structured Interviews

As the name suggests, 'semi-structured interviews' lie on a continuum between structured and unstructured interviews. They are more flexible than the rigid style of structured interviews, which tend to serve more quantitative purposes, but they provide greater structure than unstructured interviews and therefore, a greater degree of similarity across interviews. This is important for making comparisons between respondents and looking for patterns (R. Edwards and Holland 2013). And although this is not a quantitative study, I am very interested in discourses that are presented more than once as it might be an indication, especially in a small sample, that a given discourse has been taken up by more people and potentially has more causal powers in Malila society. This would, of course, need to be verified through quantitative and/or other methods but there is value in noting and reporting it in this study (see the discussion of text analysis in the next section).

With CDA's capacity to analyse texts from three perspectives—action (as genre), representation (as discourse) and identification (as style) (see section 2.2.1)—it becomes possible to discuss short texts at great length. This was the primary draw to using semi-structured interviews for this research as it would yield a rich but manageable data set that would be appropriate to the chosen method of analysis.

Further to using semi-structured interviews, episodic interviewing is an approach that draws on two different kinds of knowledge: 'narrative-episodic and semantic knowledge' (Flick 2011, p.115). The former is stored as life stories and experiences whereas the latter is more abstract knowledge based on assumptions and logical connections. Narrative plays an important role in Tanzanian culture, especially in predominantly oral societies where knowledge has historically been passed on through generations in the form of storying. Because episodic interviews embrace this preference for and strength in telling stories, I incorporated them into the design of the interview guide.

Flick instructs interviewers to follow up topical questions with a narrative question such as 'Can you tell me about a situation which explains this for me?' (2011, p.117). I reversed this procedure for two reasons: first, asking respondents to recount a situation where their answer to a topical question was relevant could come across as doubting them and second, I preferred to draw on existing narratives which in turn stimulated abstract thinking and provided a context through which abstract connections could be made. The interview guide then, was comprised of questions targeting relevant experiences (e.g. 'Can you tell me about the time when you were first taught Swahili?') and more topical, abstract questions (e.g. 'What kind of things did you like about the way you were taught? What kind of things did you not like?').

The interview guide (see appendix B.3 for the full interview guide with an English translation) consists of an opening and closing script and 22 questions (with sub/probing questions) organised around three themes. The opening script introduced myself and the study. Talking about my connections to the African continent through my heritage, work experience and the birth of my children in Tanzania was an enjoyable way to engage parents.[6] Parents' verbal consent to participate in the study was also acquired in this portion of the interview. The first 6 questions gathered metadata about the family. The next four questions looked at parents' views on their own and their children's language usage. The last 12 questions were developed to generate responses that would reveal discourses about language, language learning and learning (i.e. language-in-education). The guide was developed with the goal of compelling parents to talk about these key concepts from different perspectives in a way that would provide glimpses into their core beliefs. Like Bjørnholt (2011), citing Wengraf (2001), I am 'mindful of the gap between the story told and the life lived' (p.5) but a critical realist position also rejects a social constructivist view that there is nothing beyond the text. Therefore, connections can and should be made between the text and other realities. Perhaps a less delicate way of stating this position is that if people talk enough about certain ideological matters, they will eventually betray themselves and reveal more than they intend about their convictions. The approach then, became to motivate the participants to talk

[6]See section 4.4.2 below for an explanation of why I mentioned these specific traits.

about language and language learning from different perspectives and compel them to elaborate any positions they have embraced on language-in-education as it relates to LoI. The closing script thanked participants for their time and contribution to the study. Parents were also asked to provide a phone number for possible follow-up questions and they were informed that they might be invited to return for participation in the focus group discussions.

I decided to conduct the interviews myself for two reasons. Primarily, I wanted to be able to draw on my growing knowledge of CDA and take advantage of the built-in flexibility of semi-structured interviews to follow up on [potentially] ideology-laden statements with probing questions. This had to be done 'live' in the interviews and I was not confident in my ability to train someone else who may not otherwise be as 'mindful of the gap'. A significant challenge in interviewing with a goal to analyse the participants' talk with CDA is that it becomes difficult, if not impossible, during the interview to know what the data is going to reveal in terms of beliefs and ideologies. For this study, that would only happen once the responses were transcribed and loaded into CAQDAS where they could be adequately analysed.

Secondarily, the decision to conduct the interviews myself was a pragmatic one. Considering the compact research schedule, there was insufficient time and resources to train someone locally. One trade-off from this decision was not being able to conduct the interviews in Malila—parents' preferred language, but this was unavoidable since my competence in Malila was not sufficient enough to analyse the data, especially using an approach as semantically and pragmatically intensive as CDA. Swahili, on the other hand, is a language that both the parents and I were competent in as an additionally-learned (i.e. 'second') language. I discuss my positionality as both interviewer and researcher further in the ethics section below (see 4.4.2).

I was not comfortable separating parents and interviewing them individually about their children's educational experience as this would have created problems with trust. Therefore, whenever possible, interviews were conducted with both parents present. Bjørnholt and Farstad (2012) point out several advantages of interviewing couples based on three studies they conducted Iceland (two were focused on 'couples' (i.e. without a connection to children) and a third on 'parents'). They point out advantages that include

i.) solving problems of anonymity among interviewees; ii.) richer responses as parents work together to provide information; iii.) the ability to observe social behaviour between couples (e.g. interactional patterns); iv.) practical advantages related to setting up the interviews, especially as it relates to involving men; v.) a greater appreciation for a relational view of the self (i.e. as opposed to an individualistic one); and vi.) providing a space for family 'display' (Finch 2007, p.65) where the researcher 'can observe family display as one of the core practices that constitute families' (Bjørnholt and Farstad 2012, p.16). Despite the contextual differences, I found each of these to be true in this study for the way in which i.) anonymity did not have to be protected between couples in the same interview; ii.) couples benefited from each other's help in recalling detailed information about their children, some parents would enrich the conversation by opposing one another with more formulated arguments or conversely, they would speak with a stronger united voice; iii.) unsurprisingly, men tended to speak most; however, in four interviews women contributed more than men;[7] iv.) there was consistent attendance from both parents (except where I had scheduled interviews on a market day which resulted in 4 mothers being absent); v.) the interviewing modelled respect for the interdependent role of parents in planning for their children's education; and vi.) parents could position me as their audience which allowed them to establish particular family, or in this case 'parental' identities (e.g. as concerned, ambivalent, united, divided, involved, sidelined, etc.) in the interviews.

In terms of concerns about couples being overly-loyal to one another, Bjørnholt (2011) found in her research 'that partners tend to be more loyal and that less criticism appears in the individual than in the couple interviews' (p.5). I was not able to observe this, but perhaps, connected to this idea is a greater degree of accountability between couples when they report together. For example, in this study it was not uncommon during interviewing for one partner to correct the other when retelling specific social events they and/or their children were involved in. Had I just been interviewing one parent in those instances, the information given would not have been subject to their partner's scrutiny and recorded as such.

[7] I discuss this further in section 7.3 of the conclusion.

One last additional point to make on this matter is that I found the 28 couple interviews to be more dynamic and interesting than the 9 individual interviews. They were lively, memorable and at times, very entertaining. The freedom of semi-structured interviews, the stories that emerged through episodic interviewing and the recruitment of couples, all worked well together to produce interviewing experiences that were, at times, difficult to bring to a close.

The interview guide was pilot tested and revised over a period of 5 days with 8 households from Mbeya town. Parents who met the sampling criteria (with the exception of Malila being their children's primary language) were recruited with the help of a local church pastor. I was able to trial interviewing with an individual parent, five couples and one 'combined' interview with two mothers from different households. The latter had some productive results and is something worth investigating further but it produced too many concerns about anonymity so I abandoned it. The Mbeya pilot interviews also proved to be highly valuable in identifying and eliminating questions that did not produce the kind of rich statements needed for the research.

Pilot testing was also essential in working out how best to record the interviews. With parents' permission, the audio from each conversation was recorded using a discreet, high quality microphone with digital storage capabilities. This was important for loading the interviews into CAQDAS for analysis. Metadata was also recorded on two worksheets[8] with the guidance of parents during the initial set of questions. The first was called a language tree for the way it showed the languages spoken by parents and two generations of parents behind them. The second recorded the LoIs of any children currently in nursery, pre- or primary school (up to year 3). The worksheets remained on the table during the interviews and were used to refer to specific individuals and periods of schooling for parents' children.

Parents were recruited with help from the locally-staffed SIL Malila language office working with primary school headmasters to identify parents who met the sampling criteria.[9] The interviews lasted between 40 minutes

[8] A copy of the empty worksheets are given in appendix B.4.

[9] A sample recruitment letter issued by one headmaster is provided in section B.1 of the appendix.

and one hour.

An interview 'day' was established in each village. In an effort to be less intrusive, parents were given a time slot; however, at every site they would all show up in the morning and wait for their slot. Headmasters invited more parents than time permitted so on each interview day, it was not possible to engage everyone who arrived. I was only able to conduct between five and six interviews in one day. This led to the unfortunate circumstance of turning people away who waited several hours to be interviewed. I worked with a local literacy coordinator from the SIL Malila language office each day who kept the parents and interviews well-organised and was able to communicate with everyone in Malila.

The interviews were conducted at the six village primary schools during term break. We used empty classrooms, staff rooms and at two schools, the headmasters generously gave us their personal office space. The downside of this choice was that it added more formality to the interviews than I wanted.[10] However, holding the interviews in peoples homes would have triggered a cultural response of hospitality that would have been demanding on the household and created a distraction for the mothers. It also would have been far more challenging logistically to meet all of the parents in their homes.

Interview Question 3.08: Parents' Preferred LoI

Question 3.08 directly addressed the matter of parents' preferred LoI and as such, was central to the research:

3.08 ***Waonaje? Lugha ipi ni bora kwa mwalimu kuongea wakati anamfundisha [taja jina la mtoto mfano]?***

'So how do you see it? What's the best language for the teacher to use when they're teaching [mention the name of the example child]?'

Previous questions led in to this and the remaining questions led away from it.

[10] I discuss how I delt with the formality below in section 4.4.2 under positionality.

However, as has been pointed out in the literature review, it is a complicated question to formulate. Ouane and Glanz (2010, p.45) wisely caution against presenting parents with either-or choices when researching LoI. In the pilot interviews, asking parents which language*s* they preferred for their children's instruction produced confusion and required further explanation making it a poor interview question. In keeping with the episodic approach to the interview, I decided to situate the question in parents' real-world contexts by asking them which language would be best to instruct one of their children. Interestingly, this approach did not prevent parents from feeling bound to selecting a single language and many selected pairings of languages.[11]

For consistency, I would have liked parents to only consider the question for a given year of schooling but again, this would encumber the question with more explanation and move it back into abstraction (at least for those parents without a child in the stated year), which tended to produce greater confusion. Furthermore, where such questions were hypothetical, they were more prone to response biases (Ross, Greene and House 1977; Ajzen, Brown and Carvajal 2004) and that was something I tried to mitigate on this particular interview item.[12] Ultimately, I wanted this question to have a simple delivery without the weight of explanations and minimal (or no) need for contemplation so I opted to simply ask the question by naming the child on the worksheet who was in the earliest year of schooling.[13]

The question took the form as presented above and it worked well, needed no explanation and prompted rich answers that parents did not have to pause and contemplate, although, I often needed to follow up with a 'why?' as some parents, without hesitation, simply stated the name of a language or languages (which was also interesting from a perspective of modality). It also avoided presenting parents with an either-or choice or an overly-contrived hypothetical question. It came at the cost, however, of garnering answers that applied to children in a range of pre- and primary school years. Considering, however, that the research aim is to investigate parents' overall support and

[11] See section 5.3.

[12] In some contexts, response biases can prove useful for revealing people's values in a CDA approach (Fisher and Katz 2000). See the discussion of example (15) in the next chapter.

[13] In some interviews I experimented by asking about older children in addition to the younger ones and noted a change in preferences. See section 5.3.

rejection of MTE and not specific LoIs, I was comfortable with this.

To further enrich the answer and mine for ideological beliefs, I engaged parents in argumentation by challenging every response with a follow-up question:

3.08i ***Ugesemaje kwao wanaosema... (nenda kinyume)?***
'What would you say to those who... (take the opposite position)?'

For example, where parents would argue that their children should be instructed in Malila, I would push back, 'What would you say to people who argue there is no need to teach children Malila or that using it for instruction is going backwards?'. For parents who stated 'Swahili' or 'English' as their preferred LoI, I would respond, 'What would you say to people who argue children are too young to be instructed in a new language or that they can understand the teacher better in Malila?'. By this point in all of the interviews (i.e. question 3.08), I had a good sense of their preferred LoI and reasons for it so I would select my counter argument accordingly. (That is not to say there were no surprises but they were few.) The whole point of this exercise was to compel parents to commit to their position and articulate it further. The strategy worked well; however, it did have the interesting result of swaying some parents to a different position. I discuss this in the findings chapter in section 5.3.

Focus Group Discussions

Krueger and Casey (2009) lists eight reasons why researchers may find focus groups useful for data collection. Three of those reasons are particularly relevant to this research. First, focus groups can access a wider range of ideas over other methods. Second, they are well-suited to produce data on complicated topics. And third, focus groups are able to facilitate a collective level of thinking that is not possible with individuals only. These are all important features of focus groups for this research in that I am looking for emergent ideas—an original, ableit preliminary, inventory of linguistic capabilities from a subset of the Malila community. Furthermore,

Liamputtong suggests that utilising focus groups is

> a culturally sensitive data collection method for research in cross-cultural settings and research with ethnic minorities since it permits the researcher to reach communications which people use in their everyday interactions, and reveals cultural norms and values. (Liamputtong 2011, p.127)

Further to this, it is also recommended that a local moderator conduct focus groups in cross-cultural situations (see Greenbaum and Greenbaum 2000; Krueger and Casey 2009; Liamputtong 2011). I worked together with a male Malila-speaking assistant (he worked as a literacy coordinator for the local nursery school programs) to help moderate the discussions. The objective was to gather a list of linguistic capabilities that parents have reason to value (see section 2.2.3 in chapter 2).

The six focus group discussions were conducted in available/empty spaces in the same schools where the interviews were held. They were completed over three days in late July by holding two sessions per day. Term break was over and students were back in class so the first focus group was held during a mid-day break and the second was held immediately after students went home. This provided sufficient time to travel between villages. The discussions lasted approximately one hour. I introduced myself and the study in Swahili. After these formalities, the local facilitator led the group and explained the task.

Although the topic of linguistic capabilities is a complex one, the information needed for the study was not. This is because the inventory would not form the basis of language development work, which would have required a sample with wider representation from the Malila community, local authorities and relevant stakeholders. I was more interested in what parents (i.e. as a subgroup in this study) would produce from their own imagination with minimal influence from me (i.e. as a advocate of indigenous languages). Two reasons for this are first, it provides a rudimentary understanding of the kinds of things parents wanted to be and do as it relates to the specific languages they value. In analysis, this was an important context for criticality. For example, if parents did not value speaking Malila or passing it on to their children, then on what grounds could I be critical of discursive practices

that do not support, say, language maintenance for Malila?[14] And second, it provides an opportunity to consider the extent to which parents have acquiesced to existing social structures and practices by asking what societal changes need to happen, if any, for their valued language capabilities to be realised.[15]

With these goals in mind and the time constraints on the data collection, I conducted two pilot focus groups in Mbeya. This resulted in three important changes to the initial focus group design. First, I realised that a more participatory approach would work better than me trying to elicit parents' valued capabilities through direct questioning. Second, I abandoned an effort to rank the capabilities because it took too much time and was confusing as they were interrelated. And third, I discovered that ***nafasi*** worked better than ***fursa*** for discussing 'capabilities' in Swahili. Both words can be translated into English as 'opporunities' but ***nafasi*** is better for talking about opportunities that are yet to be realised versus ***fursa***, which can denote opportunities already or currently being realised. Also, ***fursa*** tends to index more narrow opportunities such as specific occasions and times whereas ***nafasi*** indexes roles and responsibilities.

I designed a simple approach by drawing from Chambers (1981)'s rapid rural appraisal methodology which argues how cost-effectiveness can lead to rigour through '*optimal ignorance*' and '*proportionate accuracy*' (p.99). These two concepts respectively prioritise carefully gathering only what is necessary and not weighing down the research with demands for accuracy that are more self-indulgent (i.e. for the researcher) than practical (e.g. for the community). The emphasis is on repositioning the poor and the marginalised into teaching researchers who become students.

After parents were introduced to the study, the facilitator gave them five minutes to discuss and report which languages were most important for them and their children[16]. They were then instructed to divide themselves into

[14] I suppose one could argue for an extreme case of linguistic hegemony in such a scenario but I expect a study to that end would look very different from the present one since parents' discursive practices would constitute the research problem more so than it would the data.

[15] e.g. identifying if linguistic hegemony exists in the first place.

[16] The guide used for the focus group discussions and its English version are provided in appendix C.2.

break-out groups for each language. Each group was given one of the dolls pictured in figure 4.1.[17]

FIGURE 4.1: Dolls used for rapid rural appraisal

Parents were told that the doll could only speak one language—the language they chose for their group. Each group was relocated (to allow for uninterrupted discussion) and tasked with identifying the kinds of valued things their doll could be and do as it related to the doll's language. They then gave the doll a suitable name and rejoined with the larger group to introduce the doll and the capabilities they identified. At this point, only one group could speak at a time but after their report, the whole group was encouraged to contribute additional capabilities if they thought some had been missed. At the end, I would list any capabilities from previous focus group discussions that were not mentioned and ask if they should be included (this, of course, could not be done in the first iteration of the cycle). The process worked well to compile an aggregated inventory of capabilities from the parents in all six villages, which I present and discuss in section 6.4. Each focus group required approximately 60–85 minutes to conduct.

[17]Four hand-made dolls were purchased at a local tourist shop in Mbeya town.

With parents' permission, the audio from the full group discussions (at the beginning and end) were recorded. I took notes as well and participated in the closing discussion to confirm the capabilities from previous groups. Parents were free to use any language they wished but mostly used Malila and some Swahili when I was being addressed. I was able to follow most conversations in Malila but the facilitator helped me when I needed something translated.

As was the case with the interviews, pilot-testing the focus group on two occasions in Mbeya was instrumental in refining the strategy. The dolls worked well as a way to balance the list of capabilities across the languages. Without them, the capabilities were disproportionately connected to English followed by Swahili. In their subgroups, parents were encouraged to think of things their doll could be and do that the other dolls could not. This became entertainingly competitive at times. It helped greatly to balance the capabilities across the languages but this strength was also a weakness for the way it artificially isolated the languages and disregarded capabilities connected to multilingualism. Naming the dolls was comic relief for everyone and parents participated in the exercise enthusiastically.

4.3.2 Data Analysis

In this section I discuss the analytical procedures that were applied to the interview data. I do not discuss the focus group data here since there was no process of analysis per se between what was gathered and what was reported other than translating and organizing the list by language and theme and formatting it for presentation.

As it relates to the interviews, CDA was discussed in section 2.2.1 with attention to its theoretical underpinnings and how it works in this study. Now I look at it in praxis. It should be underscored, however, that Fairclough refers to the Dialectical Relational Approach as a methodology rather than a method because he sees

> the process as a theoretical one in which methods are selected according to how the *object of research* (Bourdieu and Wacquant

> 1992) is theoretically constructed. So it is not just a matter of 'applying methods' in the usual sense—we cannot so sharply separate theory and method. (Fairclough 2013a, p.300, emphasis in original)

Van Dijk takes this one step further preferring the term 'critical discourse *studies*' for his sociocognitive approach:

> I avoid the term CDA because it suggests that it is a method of discourse analysis, and not a critical perspective or attitude in the field of discourse studies (DS), using many different methods of the humanities and social sciences.
>
> The critical approach of CDS characterizes scholars rather than their methods: CDS scholars and their research are sociopolitically committed to social equality and justice. . . . CDS is more problem-oriented than discipline-oriented, and requires a multidisciplinary approach. (van Dijk 2016, p.63)

Fairclough's approach has 4 stages that work in order methodologically (or theoretically) but in practice they happen more iteratively (Fairclough 2013a, p.300-301):

> Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.
>
> Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.
>
> Stage 3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.
>
> Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles

Stage two has three further sub-steps: i.) analysing the dialectical relationships, ii.) deciding on texts for analysis, and iii.) analysing texts (Fairclough 2013a).

I understand method then—in a dialectical relational approach to CDA—as applying to the work carried out in specific stages of the framework. But the approach is not prescriptive at this point as it favours and invites transdisciplinary perspectives to be incorporated into and inform broader CDA theory (Faiclough 2001; Fairclough 2000). I suggest that this is in keeping with the recognition that the approach is itself dialectically situated.

I have attempted to do this in work at other stages of the framework by incorporating the CA into Stage 1, FLP into Stage 2 and Linguistic Citizenship into Stage 3.

I focus the discussion in this section on work that was carried out on the last two sub-steps of Stage 3 as they clearly relate to method but first I look at how the data was prepared.

Data Preparation

Before analysis could begin the data had to be transcribed, cleaned for consistency, and then formatted for import into CAQDAS. Considering that there were 37 interviews which lasted approximately one hour each, transcribing the data was a substantial undertaking. I hired and trained someone from a neighbouring region to do the initial work[18] on a portable computer using transcription software. With the exception of the introductory and closing scripts, every utterance including speech dysfluencies (false starts, stuttering, vocables, etc.) was transcribed into a text file with each speaker's turn beginning on a new line. Speakers were identified by a label at the start of each line. Any text that could not be understood was marked with an ellipsis.

After initial transcription, each interview was returned to me for cleaning. This involved loading the text files into another transcription software platform where multiple systematic passes were made over each interview in order to do the following tasks

1. Check the transcription accuracy: fill in any gaps, correct mistranslations and verify speaker labels match speakers.
2. Fill in ellipsis: where possible and with the help of digital audio enhancement tools and speed adjustments, previously hard-to-hear utterances were transcribed.
3. Timecode speech turns: place the corresponding audio file timecode at the beginning of each speech turn.

[18]This is discussed further in the ethics section, see 4.4 below.

4. Correct spelling and word breaks: spelling conventions from the Kiswahili Research Institute at the University of Dar es Salaam (TUKI 2001) were applied to the transcription and incorrect word breaks were repaired. This substantially improved the quality of CAQDAS query outputs.

5. Standardise and clean up speech dysfluencies: decide on and implement consistent spelling conventions for non-dictionary utterances.

In 5 above, the transcription was further denaturalised from the initial transcription in order to remove linguistic information that was not contributing to the findings such as false starts, stuttering and other involuntary utterances. Transcription of a single interview could take days, for example, if I were to follow a Jeffersonian transcription approach used in conversation analysis (see Jefferson 2004). Fairclough (1992a), addressing the choice of transcription detail states that, 'no system could conceivably show everything, and it is always a matter of judgement, given the nature of the project and the research questions, what sort of features to show, and in how much detail' (p.229). Oliver, Serovich and Mason (2006) describe Fairclough's approach:

> For Fairclough, the purpose was an analysis power [*sic*]. In that the maneuverings of power are often captured in the content of the interview rather than in the mechanics of the conversation, denaturalized transcription is typically the chosen method. (2006, p.1278)

Considering this study's interest in ideology and power relations, it was the content—what people were saying about themselves, others and the world around them—that was in focus. Furthermore, the interest in identifying an inventory of discourses across parents meant sacrificing some of the depth with which I could consider each interview.

The final task in preparing the data was to format all of the interviews for import into CAQDAS. This was a two stage process that required moving the text file into a spreadsheet where the timecodes were automatically checked for progression by removing duplicates and overlaps (resulting from speech turns that were less than one second). The interviews were then exported

into a standard word-publishing document and re-formatted as a table. This was required by NVivo,[19] the specific CAQDAS I used for analysis. With all of the data in NVivo, I was able to take advantage of the following functions:

1. Conduct analysis on both talk and text at the same time.
2. Restrict searches to specific people or groups of people.
3. Restrict searches to specific attributes of people,[20] relationship to children, number of children, age, level of education, preferred language, preferred language of children,[21] preferred LoI, presence of MPS, presence of SPS, awareness of MPS.
4. Use codes to mark text by interview question and answer.
5. Use codes to mark text by discourse.

The effort required to prepare the transcriptions in this way was rewarded with the ability to have complex interactions with the interview data. For example, I could conduct text searches based on any combination of the information in items 2–5 above.

Deciding on texts for analysis

Analysis had already begun during the data preparation phase as I had been noting interesting passages while reading over the interviews. Once the data was in CAQDAS, these were all coded and filed under 'Preliminary Observations'. There were 64 codes in the folder which pointed to the need for a systematic approach to the data that would avoid the pitfalls of anecdotalism or 'cherry picking' in qualitative research—an approach Morse (2009) defines as 'documentary-style' analysis; 'In a documentary, the commentator says something such as, "His death was devastating news for his daughter," and the daughter then appears on screen, and says sorrowfully, "I was simply devastated."' (p.3). In qualitative research, Meyrick (2006)

[19] See www.qsrinternational.com.

[20] This required creating case classifications in NVivo and manually entering all of the metadata for each interviewee.

[21] As reported by parents.

describes transparency[22] and systematicity as 'two core principles of quality' (p.799)—systematicity being the use of a 'regular or set data collection and analytic process, any deviations in which are described and justified' (p.803).

Machin and Mayr (2012, p.77–85) and Fairclough (2003, p.145–146) discuss representational strategies for social actors and the significance of grammatical and lexical choices for the way they can position people in texts. In a previous study on linguistic hegemony in Tanzanian news (Foster 2013b), I applied this to a newspaper article that rejected a proposal from Tanzania's national Education Forum to use Swahili for instruction in secondary schools (Mwananchi 2013). However, in addition to looking at how participants were represented, I looked at how the proposal itself was represented, treating it as if it were a social actor. I found that only once in the article was it called ***mapendekezo*** 'proposal' whereas elsewhere it was consistently referred to using politicised vocabulary with negative connotations. This revealed information not only about the way in which the author(s) viewed the proposal but also about how the author(s) wanted their audience to view it. Considering the emphasis in this study on how parents view the languages that matter to them,[23] I decided to use a similar approach to investigate the various representational strategies parents used for languages throughout the interviews.

To address the first research question then, data was chosen based on the way in which specific languages were indexed. The languages selected were those indicated by parents in the interviews and focus groups who clearly expressed that three languages figured importantly into their and their children's lives: Malila, Swahili and English. The Swahili language names, constructed with a noun-class prefix, ***ki-***: ***Kimalila***, ***Kiswahili*** and ***Kiingereza***, were treated as 'default language labels' and were ignored. However, where parents indexed any of those languages using an alternative strategy, I treated it as a 'non-default language label' and analysed the label's use in its immediate context of the interview discussion. The motivation for this was that parents would deploy non-default labels intentionally to convey, among other things, specific qualities, attitudes and beliefs about and towards the languages they were indexing. For example, in my own

[22] Transparency is discussed in section 4.4.3 above.
[23] See the first research question in section 1.2 of the introduction

discursive practices, I might refer to English as 'my first language', 'the language I was raised in', 'an official language', 'an international language', 'Canadian (or British, American, Australian, etc.) English', 'a powerful language', 'a developed language', 'an Indo-European language', etc. and each of these choices and the context they were used in would be appropriate to what I was trying to accomplish (genre), how I wanted my audience to conceptualise English (discourse) and how I see/present myself in relation to English and my audience (style). An assumption at work here is that when specific qualities of a thing (language in this case) need to be consistently emphasised in society, linguistic strategies will emerge which simplify that process.

Each of the non-default labels for Malila, Swahili and English were coded and analysed. There were a few exceptions to this where non-default labels were used in, what I deemed to be non-ideological ways. These were mostly labels that used possessive pronouns in the first part of the interview when participant metadata was being elicited. Where the same constructions occurred elsewhere, however, they were analysed (these examples are discussed in the next chapter).

FLP theory and my intent to identify a generic FLP for the parents interviewed informed the selection of data in addressing the second research question. To identify ideologies that emerge in discourses of language learning, responses to questions 3.01 and 3.03–3.06 across all of the interviews were analysed.[24] I also used a set of text queries built on inflections and derivations of the words ***kujifunza*** 'to learn' and ***kufundisha*** 'to teach' so as not to miss statements made outside of responses to those questions that might further inform FLP. I focused specifically on any data that addressed i.) language learning motivations (addressing the question of *why* learn Malila, Swahili and English) and ii.) construals of language learning as a process (addressing the question of *how* Malila, Swahili and English are learned).

Lastly, all responses to interview question 3.08, which addressed parents' specific LoI preferences in a given context (see the discussion above in section 4.3.1), were also analysed. This was necessary to address the fourth research

[24]See appendix B.3 for the Swahili interview guide and appendix B.3.2 for the English interview guide.

question which looked at the interplay between beliefs and LoI preferences but it also helped to further inform a Malila FLP.

These three strategies for selecting data to analyse worked well to answer the research questions; furthermore, they provided a systematic approach to the data which avoided 'cherry picking'. One of the challenges CDA practitioners face is not knowing precisely what a given text will reveal until it has been subjected to a broad range of linguistic tools that are open-ended (and increasing in number as more people use it in different ways). This challenge presented itself to me in the interviews, especially when I was formulating probing questions as it often felt like 'groping for something in the dark' and hoping that what I found would produce something useful. When analysis finally took place, it unfortunately revealed both missed opportunities for follow-up questions as well as probing efforts that were fruitless.[25] The point I want to make here as it relates to selecting data for analysis is that CDA is not an analytical paradigm that lends itself well to Morse's documentary-style of research (2009) since texts are not taken prima facie. The approach is far more conducive to working 'outwards' from the data to findings than it is to 'backing into it' with an agenda.

Text Analysis

Here, I discuss how the data was analysed as a sub-step of Stage 2 ('Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong') discussed above.

I focused on structure using discourse analytical procedures from applied linguistics, specifically systemic functional linguistics (see Haliday and Matthiessen 2014) for its emphasis on paradigmatic relations (versus syntagmatic ones) which gives more recognition to language as an open system of choices. I pay specific attention to grammar as an order of discourse, lexical choices in the representation of social events, interdiscursivity and intertextuality. To further appreciate the potential for certain structures to be used in power relations, I drew primarily on four resources: Fairclough (2003) brings together much of his practical work with CDA into a single volume and organises

[25] Analysis was done in Canada, far from the research sites and well after the interviews were held as it took approximately 10 months to complete the data preparation.

linguistic structures around his notions of genre, discourse and style. In the conclusion he provides a comprehensive 'checklist' on pages 191–194. Machin and Mayr (2012) also provide CDA researchers with a chapter-by-chapter approach to linguistic structures and their ideological potential in discourse. Richardson (2007) offers a set of tools for critically analysing newspapers. Tanzania has a strong culture of newspaper consumption and political debate is a popular social activity that involves the news. Earlier plans for this research involved incorporating newspaper sources into the data but reading the news is far more of an urban activity than a rural one and the interviews revealed a disconnect between parents and newspapers. I continued to work with Richardson's set of tools, however, as a valuable compliment to the other resources. Van Dijk (1998) blurs the boundary somewhat between method and theory as it discusses the relationship between linguistic structures and ideology at a higher level of abstraction. This was particularly helpful since the other resources were more anglocentric and I was conducting analysis on Swahili data, a Central Bantu trade language.

After the data was imported into CAQDAS and coded,[26] all of the textual instances for that code were extracted and analysed. In appendix D, I give a sample of data that was analysed for a non-default label used to index Malila: ***lugha mama*** 'mother language'. The results are presented in the findings in section 5.1.1 as part of the discussion of labels that link Malila to people in table 5.3. I describe the analytical process crudely as a 'checklist approach'. Passages were printed, laid across a table and analysed against the various checklists mentioned above. For example, one pass over the data might consider verbal processes such as transitivity and a consecutive pass might investigate nominalisation. With repetition, I began to get a stronger sense of how this was all working in Swahili. Since every speech turn in the entire data was synchronised to the audio files with timecodes, the transcribed textual data played more of a supportive role in analysis since the CAQDAS platform made participants' talk easily accessible. I was able to analyse talk together with text and establish as much or as little context as needed for clarification. The procedure often resulted in adjusting the discourse codes on certain passages and reconsidering them as part of a different discourse

[26] Coding the interviews in this study was used primarily to mark and organise texts for analysis (as per the previous section). It was not used for thematic analysis.

(e.g. discourses of educational, communicative and physical mobility where challenging to separate from economic mobility). Where there were multiple instances of the same discourse, I also compared them across participants to look for orders of discourse (e.g. see table 5.14) but this was not always possible since some discourses only occurred once.

Following analysis, the findings were immediately drafted. Where there were multiple examples available, I chose those which were the most illustrative of the discourse's structural characteristics. Preference was also given to specific examples that could demonstrate multiple structural characteristics through cross-referencing. Examples were formatted and presented with an English translation. I adapt some very basic Jeffersonian notation conventions (see Jefferson 2004) where certain prosodic information help disambiguate the text:

TABLE 4.3: Notation Used for Presenting Data

Symbol	Description
=	equal sign marks a cutoff[27]
(( ))	double parenthesis enclose descriptions
(1.5)	single parenthesis enclose the length of a pause in seconds
<u>text</u>	underlining shows which portion of text is the focus of analysis

Admittedly, the translations are awkward but a literal approach was used to help readers appreciate the analysis of specific grammatical constituents in the Swahili responses. Each example is followed by a colon-separated reference number which indicates the interview question context, a unique interview identification number and the speech turn. For the non-default labels, I use summary tables to organise them into groups and provide navigation throughout the findings chapter. The tables also indicate the number of times (occurrences)[28] and in how many interviews (sources) specific labels occurred. The purpose of this is to note for possible further research,

[27] Jeffersonian conventions use a dash but being that Swahili is a highly agglutinative language, hyphenation was needed for long words that span lines of text.

[28] Occurence counts are by speech turn and do not reflect multiple uses of the same label within a speech turn.

labels that point to discourses with a greater potential for prominence and force (as a causal power) in Malila society.

Rogers et al. (2005) responds to criticisms that CDA can only be applied to written texts and that it cannot address interactional or dialogic data from situations like conversations and interviews. They reviewed 39 empirical studies within the field of education that employed CDA and found that 26 of those studies were conducted on interactional data. Regarding analytical procedures, however, they report that

> Our review of the literature indicated that the actual analytic procedures of CDA were carried out and reported on (or not reported on) in a vast range of ways. The authors used Fairclough's three-tiered framework, post-structural discourse frameworks, or discourse analysis (not CDA, despite calling their procedures CDA), or did not specify their analytic procedures. (Rogers et al. 2005, p.380)

They attribute this problem to educational researchers' 'lack of experience in dealing with the micro-structure of texts' (Rogers et al. 2005, p.384). I draw on my background in linguistics to overcome this and work to go beyond textual 'commentary' by demonstrating certain structural characteristics of each discourse. This is analogous to the work of forensic linguistics, which can establish links between structural characteristics and specific *authors*—the difference being in CDA where links are established between structures and specific *discourses*. This can only be cursory in the present study, however, since I aim to identify multiple discourses (i.e. a discursive landscape) whereas each discourse would require its own study to more thoroughly demonstrate those links.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

Wiles (2013) discusses factors that shape ethical decision-making in research. These include 'professional guidelines; disciplinary norms; ethical and legal regulation and an individual's ethical and moral outlook' (p.12). In this section I discuss the ethical considerations which I strived to uphold as part of

a commitment to protect the overall well-being of the research participants. The discussion has two parts: first I give an overview of the practical considerations that were made as it relates to data collection and second, I discuss my positionality as it relates to the research project with specific attention to how I discursively position myself and others in presenting the research.

4.4.1 Data Collection

The Faculty of Social Sciences and Law at the University of Bristol granted ethical permission to begin gathering data for this research on September 28, 2015 (See appendix A).

Access

In order to collect data in Tanzania for this study, a research permit was legally required. At the time of data collection in 2016, I held a valid work permit with SIL International, a registered international non-governmental organisation in Tanzania charged (i.e. in its articles), among other things, with carrying out charitable activities that include linguistic research, language development and literacy in Tanzania's indigenous languages. SIL International had already been working with the Malila community since 2004; therefore, relationships and permissions were already in place with the local authorities (e.g. regional and district) as well as with local education authorities and primary schools. The research was able to be conducted then, as part of my work responsibilities with SIL International working in Tanzania.

Informed Consent and Right to Withdraw

Important to this study was adherence to established research policies on informed consent and rights to withdraw such as those adopted by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC 2015) in the United Kingdom. They describe informed consent as

> giving sufficient information about the research and ensuring that there is no explicit or implicit coercion . . . so that prospective participants can make an informed and free decision on their possible involvement. (ESRC 2015, p.29)

In the ESRC definition above, however, it is not obvious what is meant by 'sufficient'. How much information is enough? Considering that I critically evaluate discourses which are strongly held by respondents or that the research itself could be viewed as politically subversive, overt knowledge of my agenda could have made potential respondents reluctant or fearful to participate. To resolve this I opted for what Fine calls 'shallow cover' (1993, p.276) where researchers look for a balance between covertness and transparency. Fine is talking about ethnographic approaches but regarding transparency, in shallow cover 'the ethnographer announces the research intent but is vague about the goals' (Fine 1993, p.276). For example, I would be comfortable sharing the research questions but not the research aim or objectives. This practice of non-disclosure is permissible to ensure that the data needed can be obtained but full disclosure and justification must be part of the final report (BERA 2018).

With regards to consent, the top-down process of approval that allowed me to conduct the research might have caused respondents to feel obligated to participate in the study (Hammersley and Traianou 2012). On the other hand, overemphasising the need for individual consent or requiring that it be in the form of writing was likely to create a sense of distrust (Tilley and Gormley 2007) or the imposition of Western bureaucracy (Ryen 2004). After carefully considering the context of the research sites, I opted for verbal, recorded consent from parents in both the interviews and the focus group discussions. Each participant received an engagement letter which I read out loud at the beginning of each interview and focus group discussion while the participants followed along with their copy.[29] This was then followed by a clear request for their permission to continue with the interview as per the guide referenced above. The research engagement letter also provided contact information parents could use to withdraw from the study at any

[29]The interview engagement letter and an English version are provided in appendix B.2. The focus group discussion engagement letter and an English version are provided in appendix C.1.

time with the guarantee that all of their data would be permanently deleted.

As it relates to the possibility of coercion, compensation for participation may or may not have been minor factor. Each household was compensated with 2,000 Tanzanian shillings for participation in the interviews and also in the focus group discussions. One exception to this was the focus group discussion in Isongole where because of a low response from couples, individual participants (instead of households) were compensated with 1,000 Tanzanian shillings. Headmasters received 10,000 Tanzanian shillings for their work in identifying parents and hosting the interviews. MPS teachers who also helped recruit parents received 2,000 Tanzanian shillings each. Compensation amounts were modest but meant to recognise that participating in the research removed people from other income-earning responsibilities/ opportunities.

Anonymity and Data Protection

Parents were informed in the engagement letter that their anonymity would be protected and upholding that commitment has been of paramount importance since the data was collected. Headmasters at each research site knew who was invited but not who was interviewed. The local Malila-language nursery school literacy coordinator was privy to the roster of parents in both the interviews and focus groups because of his direct involvement in helping to organise and run the events. He was not, however, part of the interviews so would not be able to connect specific data to an individual participant.

As stated above, transcription was aided with the help of an assistant. Importantly, she is someone I know and trust. Furthermore, she lives in another region of Tanzania, hundreds of kilometres from the research sites and has no connections or interactions with anyone in the study. After she did the initial transcription of each interview, its audio file was permanently removed from her computer.

To present the findings, specific examples from parents are referenced using pseudonyms although the real names for locations have been retained. It is possible for any research to be or become sensitive (Hughes 2004; Corbin

and Morse 2003); however, some research clearly has the potential to cause more harm than others (R. M. Lee and Renzetti 1990). But while discussions about LoI can result in vigorous debate, it would be difficult to make a case that it should be treated as a sensitive topic (e.g. such as research on sexuality, addiction or child abuse). The matter has and continues to be widely and freely debated in public spheres and I am not aware of anyone who has faced harm as a direct result of discussing LoI or for expressing support or rejection of specific LoIs. The measures used then, to both obtain consent and protect participant anonymity, were selected as an appropriate strategy in light of the research topic's level of risk.

4.4.2 Positionality

It is well established that a researcher's position will impact research at different stages and in different ways (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009; Barbour and Schostak 2005; Flick 2011; Flick 2009; Rapley 2004; Schostak 2006). Furthermore, this is inescapable regardless of one's status be it cast anywhere along the familiar continuum of 'insider' versus 'outsider' as it has been demonstrated that these categories are both problematic (McNess, Arthur and Crossley 2013; Briscoe 2005; Merton 1972) and fluid (Milligan 2016; Rabe 2003). The notion that research quality improves as one moves closer to the position of insider, and its correlate that outsiders should not attempt to represent a group in which they have no membership is part of an academic discourse that I argue is in response to another academic discourse—positivism—which privileged researchers with knowledge and power in harmful ways. But Rabe (2003) demonstrates two examples of research in South Africa where insiders' familiarity with the researched disadvantaged them and conversely, Tinker and Armstrong (2008) drawing on Pike's (1954) distinction of 'emic' and 'etic' perspectives of phenomena, argue that an 'outsider's' ignorance will lead them to investigate things that insiders take for granted. Questioning the insider/outsider categories is not new. Almost half of a century ago, Merton (1972, p.36) rejected what he referred to as insider and outsider 'doctrine' and challenged his audience to 'transform the original question altogether':

> We no longer ask whether it is the Insider or the Outsider who has monopolistic or privileged access to social truth; instead, we begin to consider their distinctive and interactive roles in the process of truth seeking. (Merton 1972, p.36)

Tinker and Armstrong (2008) share this position arguing that 'while insider and outsider researchers may receive different responses, each account is interesting and meaningful in its own right' (p.54). They add, however, that this must be accompanied by reflecting on and making explicit, the relationship they had with their respondents. Briscoe takes the argument for multiple perspectives in research a step further by making a case for representations of the *other* that are more inclusive:

> Ethically, exclusive representation is likely to bring about further marginalization of the other; it discourages empathy and communication between groups and reifies differences in positionality, which causes further divisiveness between the various social groups, and it acts to essentialize and support stereotypes which erase the varied experiences, interests, and identities of the other. (Briscoe 2005, p.38–39)

The question of positionality then becomes not one of 'who I am' but *how* 'who I am' impacted the research. To put it differently, it is not a question of 'whether or not' or 'the extent to which' I impacted the research but rather the specific nature of the impact I had on the project as an inevitable consequence of my presence in it—impact in this sense is a given. But this is a very problematic question to answer as it presupposes access to knowledge about how participants perceived me in specific moments of the study. Furthermore, if it is assumed that I, like other researchers, desire to present my work as legitimate, then there is potential for me to act (e.g. report) in ways that would avoid discrediting it or worse, to intentionally discredit it but in ways that appear to increase its legitimacy.

That being said, I take up Tinker and Armstrong's plea for researcher's to make their relationships with respondents explicit as this is in keeping with my own commitment to transparency. But rather than making any attempt to discuss how [I think] participants viewed me, I prefer to discuss i.) how I would have liked to have been perceived and ii.) how I was made to

feel.

To the first point, my relationship with the participants was limited by the short amount of time we spent together. For those parents who participated in both the interviews and the focus group discussions, we were able to interact for no more than two hours. For the others who attended either an interview or a focus group, that time was limited to just one hour. Furthermore, my ability to relate to *individual* participants was limited to 9 interviews where only one parent attended; however, this was advantageous for the way it improved the social dynamics when there were three of us (or more as it was with the focus group discussions).

In each encounter I made an effort to build rapport through the way in which I introduced myself. Because of my mixed Jamaican ethnicity (European, West African and Sephardic Jew) and the bewilderment my appearance sometimes invokes, I am in the habit of starting most conversations with new people by relieving their curiosity about my heritage. I also talked briefly about my work experience in Tanzania with a focus on places and duration. My desire was not to inform them of my qualifications per se but rather to shed light on my ability to speak Swahili and my familiarity and comfort in rural Tanzanian contexts. I was also intentional about telling participants my children were born in Tanzania as it often has the somewhat humorous effect on people to conclude that my wife is Tanzanian when she is actually Canadian. Admittedly, these strategies all resemble attempts to present myself as more of an insider but the information I shared about myself was done strategically as connecting points to facilitate better rapport—a few small pieces of 'common ground'. In no way do I see myself as an insider nor would I feel comfortable presenting myself to a community who has faced challenges like the Malila as 'one of them'. The socio-economic gap between me and the participants in this study keep me well situated as an outsider. After sharing these personal details, I was intentional to reveal my connection to SIL International as a language developer and my status as a student at the University of Bristol.[30] In the case of the former, I was seeking the trust that the Malila community extends to SIL and its local staff who lead language development efforts for the Malila community. In the case

[30]Both SIL and the University of Bristol logos appeared on each participant's engagement letter.

of the latter, I was wanting to be seen as a student and transparent about the fact that I was working towards a PhD. There was little time to convey more about myself so any other positioning I did happened in the interview dialogue. So to summarise, I was comfortable with being seen as an outsider and was more interested in being seen as an international friend who has embraced and respects the indigenous peoples, cultures and languages of Tanzania. I also conveyed myself as a professional who does research and I suspect that by aligning myself with SIL further conveyed that I am an advocate for indigenous languages—something I was also comfortable with.

To the second point, reflecting on my experience doing the data collection defines how I was made to feel in the days I spent in the villages. After each day I recorded an audio journal to document my experiences, suggestions for improving the research and notes to myself for future analysis. My recollections and journal entries are clear that I felt *welcomed*, *trusted* and *respected*. I will say something about each of these feelings.

The intimate relationship between language and culture results in interesting semantic mismatches between languages. In Swahili, for example, the word ***mgeni*** translates into English as both 'guest/visitor' and 'stranger'. Feeling welcomed is something I have experienced in unprecedented ways in all of my travels in Tanzania (and on the African continent for that matter). I have regularly experienced hospitality that is not commensurate to peoples' means and my time in the Malila region was no exception. At the schools where I conducted the research, headmasters and school staff consistently went out of their way for me in order to provide work space, meals, and logistical support with the parents. Sharing midday meals with the school staff and headmaster was always a highlight. The hospitality I experienced on each interview day increased when I returned to the same sites for the focus groups.

Trust was primarily demonstrated to me through the cooperation of the local headmasters and teachers in their help with recruiting parents. It was also shown to me in the interviews from the parents through their level of cooperation, participation and openness. Parents shared both joyful and sorrowful experiences with me. This was not immediate, however, as on the second day of interviewing I noticed very short answers from some parents

who appeared nervous. I began to realise that the setting was very formal. Some parents were requested by an authority figure to participate.[31] They then arrived at a school building, were ushered into an office, sat down with a foreigner who gave them a very formal letter which addressed issues of 'anonymity' and 'confidentiality', asked for their permission to be interviewed, and then engaged with in Swahili, the country's national language. Some parents did not seem to be impacted by this but others required some effort on my part to informalise the setting. I used humour and shared stories but it was most effective to dismiss 'the appearance of formality' and encourage them to feel free to relax—that I was the student and they were the teacher. I immediately noticed a difference in the quality of the interviews but I only did it if I felt it was necessary.

Lastly, I felt respected by the participants. Like hospitality, respect is deeply embedded in the local culture and language. In one sense it could have just been automatic or even duplicitous but I did not feel this was the case. Most parents arrived two or even three hours prior to their interview time slot and sat outside on the grass waiting to be called in. They demonstrated patience and when they joined me for the interview they were not upset about waiting. I apologised for the wait but they were dismissive about it being a problem. I do not know why they were drawn to the interviews to the extent that they were. At one point I questioned if the compensation was inordinately contributing to the response but considering the amount they received and my past experience of running workshops in rural communities, it is difficult to make that argument. A clue might be in the following response to a question I asked regarding what parents had heard in media (e.g. television, radio and newspapers) about the LoI debate in Tanzania. Gervas responded by saying

(1) ***Tunasikia mkazo wao kwamba somo la kufundishia liwe kiswahili. Ndio mkazo wao. Lakini sasa labda kinachosumbua ni kwamba sisi tunashindwa kwamba tungetoa wapi mawazo yetu kwa sababu ushirikishwaji wakati fulani unakuwa ni mgumu kwamba sisi tungetoa wapi ma mawazo yetu. Lakini wangekuwa wanatushirikisha, wangesikia na sisi mawazo***

[31] This did not make me concerned about coercion as many parents declined the invitation.

> ***yetu, tunasemaje kwamba lugha za kufundishia ziwe lugha gani.*** (Q3.11:145440:188)
>
> 'We hear them insisting that the subject of instruction should be Swahili. That is what they stress. But now maybe what's annoying is that we don't have a place to contribute our ideas and sometimes participation is difficult in that we don't have a forum to give our thoughts. But if they would involve us they would hear our ideas, what we say about which languages should be used for instruction.'

This demonstrated to me that perhaps some parents saw the interviews as a forum to express views that were important to them and their children's education. Very few parents were as explicit as Gervas but they all showed appreciation for the opportunity to have their ideas heard. To summarise how I was made to feel, I would describe myself as a welcomed foreigner or a respected international guest who could be trusted with their opinions about best LoI practices as it relates to their children's education.

Discursive Positioning

In this study, I take the position of the authors mentioned at the outset of this section who argue against the idea that only insiders should represent themselves in research. I further adopt Briscoe (2005)'s rejection of 'using demographic positioning as a basis of judgment' (p.38), preferring that

> the other dimensions of positionality, that is ideological positioning . . . and discursive positioning of the other and self, ought to be the grounds on which a scholar's representation of the other is judged (as well as other factors related to good research).

In the same way this study attempts to look beyond parents' words at their beliefs through CDA, the study itself—as a text—bears the same vulnerability if scrutinised under the same methods. For example, I have positioned the participants as belonging to a socially excluded community whose marginalisation makes them potentially vulnerable to linguistic hegemony and the possible loss of their language and culture. I question their

beliefs about the value of the Malila language for their children's education and the ways in which they idealise Swahili and English. I position myself as an advocate for indigenous language development, MTE and MLE and speak as a critical researcher but recognise the responsibility that comes with criticality. One challenge that this has posed is how to go about applying CDA to interview data from the parents in this study. Much published research carried out with CDA has been applied to what I would describe as 'highly-crafted texts' such as political speeches, news reports and marketing advertisements. Furthermore, they tend to be texts about controversial matters aimed at large audiences and as such, should expect little or no insulation from critical analysis that could be viewed by some as 'vilifying' the authors. Applying CDA to the spontaneous talk of socially excluded and socio-economically disadvantaged, subsistence farmers has required a certain level of sensitivity that is not accounted for in any methodological descriptions I have seen for CDA approaches.

4.4.3 Reflexivity in a CDA Context

This study's critical aspect necessitates a level of reflexivity that is sufficient to keep my audience aware of the position from which I make claims be they interpretive or normative. Furthermore, maintaining criticality is a commitment to a faithful analysis that does not wield criticality only against positions with which I disagree but treats all of the data in a way that allows it to

> draw attention to itself as socially constructed, historically positioned and culturally anchored, as is the person of the researcher/ analyst. The goal is to make the object or idea appear problematic, tentative, plural, multiple and complex, through its social, cultural and historical positioning, and for its tentativeness to be matched by an equally demanding commitment on the part of the researcher to self-doubt and reflexivity. In this case, the interest is not in the closeness of the description to 'reality', but in its difference, its inventiveness, its artificiality, its play and its irony, and its relationship to the researcher. (Patterson 1997, p.425)

It should be noted that Patterson's reference to 'reality' above is reality in a positivist tradition to which she is rebutting. I have argued in chapter two (see section 2.1) that social phenomena, including discourse and its underlying mechanisms are metaphysical realities that can be approximated through critical analysis; however, in the moment of analysis proximity to truth cannot be established if it is to be measured by its fruitfulness in society (see Collier 1998; Sayer 1992). That would arguably have to happen well after truth claims were made and applied to specific social practices. In the moment of analysis, however, things like 'inventiveness', 'artificiality', 'play' and 'irony' can be studied structurally in their semiotic forms as choices of discourse, genre and style (see Fairclough 2003) that are more or less likely to be connected to one ideology or another. But as Patterson aptly points out above, this is always done in relation to the researcher.

I have therefore attempted to be transparent about my confidence in MLE to improve the quality of education for indigenous language communities, my contention with the current policies that proscribe indigenous languages in formal education and my frustration with what has felt like a general reluctance from Tanzanian parents towards MTE over a period of nine years of development work in 19 indigenous languages in Tanzania. But it is insufficient, however, to only consider influences on the study that result from my ontological and epistemological positions or any other stances I have adopted towards the topics that emerge in this research. Consideration also needs to be given to other, more inherent personal factors that have undoubtedly come to bear on the larger research design, data collection, analysis and reporting. These include but are not limited to my level of education, my role as a linguist, my age and sex, and my background in terms of socio-economics, politics and religion. Taking responsibility for these influences is an important recognition that in reflexive research

> the centre of gravity is shifted from the handling of empirical material towards, as far as possible, a consideration of the perceptual, cognitive, theoretical, linguistic, (inter)textual, political and cultural circumstances that form the backdrop to—as well as impregnate—the interpretations. (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.9)

This begs the question, however, of how much responsibility I can realistically assume in that it becomes impossible to account for every influence, positive or negative, that I as 'the researcher' introduce into the study. This is exacerbated by the fact that most of these influences would be unavailable to me as they reside in my own 'taken-for-granted assumptions and blind spots' (Alvesson and Sköldberg 2009, p.10). Furthermore, my perspective on reflexivity needs to be consistent with my perspective on language and discourse and working within a CDA approach has at least three important implications.

First, reflexivity is understood as an already pervasive and necessary function of human communication that allows for the use of language to refer back to itself. For example, 'human beings are reflexive about what they do in their practical social life—they have ways of talking about it, describing it, evaluating it, theorizing it' (Fairclough 2003, p.15). In this sense, every reference back to this study, direct or indirect, is already a reflexive move (especially this chapter). This perspective on 'linguistic' reflexivity casts 'methodological' reflexivity in research as both narrow and derived (Zienkowski 2017). Second, reflexivity is viewed as an ongoing task in the discursive formation of identity (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 2003), which means that any efforts I make to present myself or my position are synchronic construals; self-(re)presentations that are fixed in a specific time (and space). Lastly, as a semiotic construal in the form of text, anything I might say in the name of being methodologically reflexive is subject to the mediation of social practices. For example, it could be argued that being reflexive is an established social practice in academia since 'reflexivity continues to be recommended as a critical practice for social research (see e.g. Steier 1991; Woolgar 1991a; Alvesson and Skoldberg 2000; Pels 2000), especially as it is often understood as an antidote to the problems of realism' (Adkins 2002). Approaches to reflexivity in research are many and varied but the general goal is to problematise the researcher's subjective role in the production of knowledge and then through one strategy or another, repair it. White describes a scenario where

> paradoxically, by 'confessing' to some misdemeanour, or error in the *past* and displaying their capacity to learn from such mistakes, the researcher or practitioner constructs their current

> interpretations and practices as new, improved, and hence more robust and less fallible. Although it is by no means true in all cases, the researcher or practitioner can cast themselves as a kind of born-again truth broker. This very effectively closes down opposition and fruitful debate—the very thing that reflective diaries are supposed to create. (p.102 White 2001, emphasis in original)

If this is accurate, some projects of reflexivity in academics are ideological for the way they are able to 'infuse different journalistic, psychological, political and ethical self-images' (Zienkowski 2017, p.7) on to researchers—something I argue is a matter of power. The concern from a CDA perspective is with anything that might privilege the voice of the researcher and position them as more authoritative than their research participants.

Where approaches to reflexivity are in response to realist/positivist paradigms, it is not surprising they fall into conflict with a critical realist view of the world. My critical realist position is not interested in mitigating my subjectivity since I do not see myself as having the responsibility of constructing reality but rather one of grasping for it. This is where the notion of 'construal' in CDA is important as it underscores the humble position of anyone who semiotically attempts to make sense of the world.[32] Reflexivity, then, works in this study in the following ways:

- it is both unavoidable and necessary in order for me to be able to discuss 'this study';
- the claims I make about reality are made from an inescapable, deeply subjective position—presenting myself as more subjective is superfluous and potentially misleading if it results in the belief that I am less subjective; and
- I adopt a writing approach to making claims about the data that aims for an appropriate use of pragmatic modality (i.e. in grammar) that reflects my own efforts to construe reality.

Admittedly, the last point is done at my own discretion and it may not satisfy demands for more overt reflexivity; however, I am wary of overburdening

[32] See section 2.2.1 for an explanation of the term 'contrual'.

the study with excessive self-critique. Four further strategies I adopt that might be considered reflexive by some but following Zienkowski (2017) and Meyrick (2006), I prefer to offer them as acts of 'transparency':

- I am candid about my positions on various matters related to social justice for indigenous language communities, MTE, MLE and the LoI debate;
- where relevant, I discuss my position and possible influence on a particular response or point out my lack of ability to understand something;
- I generously present original data[33] directly in the findings that [within reason and space constraints] give as much voice and context to the participants' responses; and
- I give a detailed account of the research process in this chapter and explain any analytical struggles in the next so as to help my audience confirm that my 'decisions were "reasonable"' (Meyrick 2006, p.806)

4.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has presented a theoretical framework and a practical architecture for the study. In the next chapter I present the findings from the interviews. While data from the focus group discussions informed analysis of the interview data, I prefer to address it in the discussion chapter. Readers are encouraged, however, to look at the list of valued capabilities in table 6.1 before proceeding to the findings.

[33] I distinguish 'original' from 'raw' in that the data has been cleaned up as per section 4.3.2 above.

Chapter 5

Findings

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first addresses research question 1 by looking at the discursive effect of various representational strategies used by parents during the interviews to construe different languages without using formal names. The second addresses research question 2 by looking at language learning motivations and processes. To answer research question 4, the third section focuses specifically on support and rejection of the Malila language as an LoI. Presenting the findings in this manner moves progressively from ways in which parents construe languages (i.e. what they are and their intrinsic value) to ways in which they are sought (i.e. how they are learned and prioritised) and then to what it means for specific support and rejection of Malila (i.e. as an indicator of the potential support or rejection of MTE). Specific consideration of parents' attitude towards Malila in this way is important to address the fourth research question if it is understood that an MLE program would result in capability expansion for the Malila community. All three sections work together to highlight key elements of a generic FLP which is proposed and discussed in the next chapter.

5.1 Construals of Language

The interview questions gave participants multiple opportunities to talk about specific languages in a variety of contexts. Critical discourse analysts are interested in the semiotic choices people make when representing the world as they understand it and/or as they want it understood. In order to explore how languages were conceptualised across interviewees, I looked at how they were referenced in speech. Not surprisingly, the most common practice was to use the language's proper name. I refer to these as default labels.

TABLE 5.1: Default Language Labels

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
Kimalila	'Malila'	1853	37
Kiswahili	'Swahili'	1698	37
Kiingereza	'English'	507	36
Kifaransa	'French'	14	9

Table 5.1 shows the frequency counts for default labels used by parents during the interviews. ***Kimalila*** and ***Kiswahili*** are respectively the first and second most frequently used terms in all of the interview data. ***Kiingereza*** is the sixth most frequently used word.[1] Discursively speaking, these labels connect to a network of discourses that uphold each named language as social realities, each one distinct from the other.

Of particular interest, however, are the ways in which languages were referred to when participants used something other than or in addition to default labels. By exploiting their linguistic options, parents were able to bring salience to specific attributes of languages in a way that better met their communicative objectives. I refer to these as non-default labels. They reveal unique discourses attached to languages that would not otherwise be accessible through default labels. And where specific non-default labels are used by more than one person, it is an indication that these unique ways of construing languages and the meanings they create resonate with groups. As such, it is also an indication of the extent to which they have been embraced and therefore, the force they have in society. This section exhaustively addresses each non-default label in the data, even if they only occurred once as the discourses they revealed could be confirmed through other discursive strategies in connection with default labels. They do not represent all of the discourses indexed in the data but time and space does not permit for an investigation of that scope.

[1] Word counts exclude utterances by the interviewer and high frequency grammatical terms.

5.1.1 Non-default Labels for Malila

Parents demonstrated the most creativity when indexing Malila. They used 24 non-default labels which I organise into four categories for the way in which they link Malila to either *status* (table 5.2), *people* (table 5.3), *origins* (table 5.5) or *location* (table 5.6).

TABLE 5.2: Malila Non-default Labels: Status

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
kilugha	'dialect/local language'	52	13
lugha ya asili	'indigenous/heritage language'	51	13
Kimalila cha kufundishwa	'taught Malila'	1	1
lugha ya zamani	'old language'	1	1

By using the non-default labels above in table 5.2, parents ascribed a certain status to Malila. The labels ***kilugha*** 'dialect' or 'local language' and ***lugha ya asili*** 'indigenous' or 'heritage language' are used widely across Tanzania as strategies for differentiating indigenous, local languages from more higher-status languages such as Swahili or English. Despite its wide usage, the term ***kilugha*** is somewhat perplexing. It is constructed by adding the noun class prefix ***ki-*** to ***lugha*** 'language'. As a Bantu language (Eberhard, Simons and Fennig 2021), Tanzanian Swahili has a rich noun class system. Katamba (2006) provides a summary of 'the traditional consensus on the broad semantic characteristics' (p.114) of Bantu noun classes but recognises any classification system will have inconsistencies. Grammatically, adding the prefix inflects the noun from one that takes class 9 arguments to one that takes class 7 arguments. Following Katamba, some class 7 nouns (and their class 8 plural forms) can have a derogatory/diminishing lexical effect. Pragmatically, ***kilugha*** can have negative connotations in a similar manner 'dialect' can be used in English to diminish a language's status. Not all class 7/8 nouns, however, are inherently diminished. As a matter of fact, all proper language names in Swahili fall into class 7.[2] A more neutral (i.e.

[2]Note the class 7 prefix ***ki-*** on all of the language names in table 5.1.

less political) translation of ***kilugha*** might be something like 'local language'. Whatever translation one chooses, however, ***kilugha*** does not share the same, higher status of ***lugha*** 'language'.

Some possible translations for ***lugha ya asili***[3] (literally 'language of origin') are 'indigenous', 'heritage' or 'native' language. When discussing Tanzania's indigenous languages in speech and print, I have preferred ***lugha ya asili*** over ***kilugha***. In the data, both ***kilugha*** and ***lugha ya asili*** are used neutrally (i.e. without any apparent negative or positive connotation); however, the former is seldom used positively and the latter is seldom used negatively. Compare examples (1) and (2) below.

Lucas[4] and I were discussing how when he was in school, corporal punishment was used to discourage the use of Malila in the classroom.

(1) ***Kama sisi huko nyuma, wakati tuko shuleni na sisi, tukiongea kilugha tulikuwa tunachapwa. Walikuwa wanasema tuendelee tu na kiswahili. Ukikosea tu ukiongea kilugha unapata kachai kidogo.*** (Q3.08:123815:238)

'Like us back in the day, when we were in school, if we spoke the local language we were beaten. They would say just continue to speak in Swahili. If you accidentally used the local language, you would get in trouble.'

I intentionally used ***kilugha*** to ask and challenge Charles why he was in favour of using Malila for instruction in school:

(2) ***Kwa sababu tunajua ni, ni lugha ya asili. Ndio maana tumependa hata mtoto anajifunza lugha ya asili, yaani lugha yake. Inakuwa ni vizuri wakati mwingine. Atakapo=***[5] ***labda***

[3] ***lugha ya asili*** represents a range of variations in the phrase's structure. Because it is not a set phrase, the nouns can take modifiers and undergo inflection or derivation. For example ***lugha yangu ya asili*** 'my language of origin'; ***lugha ya nyumbani ya kiasili*** 'original home language'; ***lugha hii ya asili*** 'this language of origin'; ***lugha asilia*** 'original language'; etc.

[4] To protect anonymity, each interview participant was given a unique pseudonym.

[5] The '=' sign indicates an abrupt cutoff. See table 4.3 for the notation conventions used for presenting data.

> ***soma kwenda nchi nyingine, lakini atakaporudi hapa kwa wakati mwingine, atakuwa ni vizuri tu kwa kwa wenzake. Hata kwa mabibi, kwa kama sisi baba zake, atakuwa= ni vizuri akaongea.*** (Q3.08:121102:86)
>
> 'Because we know it's the indigenous language. It's indeed the reason we have wanted even for [our] child to learn the indigenous language, in other words their[6] language. It's good sometimes. When they will=[7] maybe if they study in some other country, but then return later on, they will be well off with their friends. Even for elderly women/grandmothers, for [people] like us [parents], their father, they will be= it's good if they speak [the indigenous language].'

Despite my intentional use of ***kilugha*** in the question, Charles re-presented it back to me in (2) above as ***lugha ya asili***. This re-presentation effectively elevated the language from ***kilugha*** to a language that has history and purpose in the Malila community, a status worthy for classroom instruction.

Gilbert also elevated the status of Malila by referring to it as ***Kimalila cha kufundishwa*** 'taught Malila'. He was describing the difference he noted in his daughter, who attended an MPS after her older sibling attended an SPS. Both children learned Malila at home but the older sibling was not able to read or write in it. By labelling the younger child's Malila as 'taught', he was elevating it to the status of a language that was both used in school and could be read and written.

Pius used ***lugha ya zamani*** 'old language' to describe the difference between the Malila that is spoken today versus the Malila that was spoken long ago. Although this addressed Malila's status, it wasn't obvious from that specific dialogue if the older Malila was being promoted, demoted or just noted as different. Participants often expressed frustration for the way older generations had a larger vocabulary than younger ones and consequently, for the belief that some of the language was being lost with the passing on of elders. For this reason I would suggest that ***lugha ya zamani*** is a

[6] In an effort to simplify reading the transcription, where appropriate I use the English 3rd person plural pronoun to stand in place of Swahili's gender-neutral 3rd person singular pronoun. This avoids repeatedly using 'he/she', 'him/her' and 'his/her'.

[7] See footnote 5.

promotion of status that recognises a richer and more purer/authentic Malila (i.e. less borrowing from other languages).

TABLE 5.3: Malila Non-default Labels: People

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha yetu	'our language'	27	13
lugha yangu	'my language'	10	6
lugha yake	'his/her language'	8	6
lugha yao	'their language'	5	5
lugha yako	'your language'	3	3
lugha yenu	'your (plural) language'	2	2
lugha mama	'mother language'	6	4
lugha ya kabila	'language of the tribe'	2	2
lugha ya ukoo	'language of the clan'	1	1
lugha ya watoto	'language of children'	1	1

Table 5.3 lists the non-default labels for Malila that link it to people. With the exception of ***lugha mama*** 'mother language', the grammatical strategy to make this link was to use either possessives (e.g. the first six labels)[8] or the associative marker ***ya*** 'of' (e.g. the last 3 labels).[9] I will discuss the labels in the order they have been presented in table 5.3 giving separate attention to the possessive constructions before moving on to the associative ones.

Respondents who referred to Malila as ***lugha yetu*** 'our language' made a strong claim of shared possession of the Malila language by the Malila people. Those who used ***lugha yangu*** 'my language' accomplished a similar function but on a personal level. This choice is connected to positionality, which I discuss below. Both strategies establish the Malila language as the speakers' intellectual property, an important part of their Malila group identity. As

[8]Possessives in Swahili that immediately follow and agree with their head noun modify it as a determiner and/or an adjective. For simplicity I refer to them as 'possessives'.

[9]The class 9 prefix ***y-*** attached to the possessives and the associative marker is invoked by agreement with the head noun ***lugha*** 'language', which, as discussed above, is a class 9 noun.

statements of ownership, ***lugha yetu*** 'our language' and ***lugha yangu*** 'my language' establish a social boundary between those who speak Malila and those who do not. Both forms are exclusive[10] and their use in response to my questions has multiple effects, one of which dismissed me (i.e. the interviewer) entirely from the Malila collective. Barth (1998) contends that boundaries play a greater role in establishing ethnic groups than the inherent traits or characteristics of those groups. Furthermore these boundaries are continuously affirmed in discourse:

> The critical focus of investigation... becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses. The boundaries to which we must give our attention are of course social boundaries, though they may have territorial counterparts. If a group maintains its identity when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signalling membership and exclusion. Ethnic groups are not merely or necessarily based on the occupation of exclusive territories; and the different ways in which they are maintained, not only by a once-and-for-all recruitment but by continual expression and validation, need to be analysed. (Barth 1998, p.15)

A fitting example of this 'expression and validation' can be seen in (3) below. I asked Godfrey and his wife, Ahadi, to explain the difference between Malila and Swahili. Ahadi responded:

(3) ***Kimalila ni lugha yetu, lugha yetu Wamalila. Kiswahili ni lugha ya Taifa. Ina maana ni lugha ya Taifa, popote utakapokutana na wengine, una uwezo wa kuongea nao. Lakini lugha yetu ya hapa hapa ni ya hapa hapa tu. Tunaongea sisi kwa sisi, sio na watu wengine.*** (Q3.02:131424:186)

'Malila is our language, our language for the Malila people. Swahili is the national language. It means that the national language, wherever you meet up with others you have the ability to speak with them. But our language from right here is just for right here. We speak [it] amongst ourselves, not with other people.'

[10]The exclusivity or inclusivity of these constructions is not marked morphologically but rather contextually.

In her brief response, Ahadi deployed ***lugha yetu*** three times which established a very clear boundary between two groups: Tanzanians and the Malila community. Ahadi sees herself as a member of both groups but delineates her membership—at least in this conversation—along linguistic lines. The question posed to Godfrey and Ahadi was a very open one. They could have talked about the linguistic properties unique to Swahili or Malila (as others did) but instead they chose to describe the boundaries that each language erects between social groups.

I asked Baraka to tell me how he learned Malila and he responded:

(4) ***Ni lugha yangu ya wazazi. Wazazi jinsi walivyokuwa. Na mimi nimekuja kuikuta kwa wenzangu jinsi ninavyokua, nasikiliza wakubwa wanavyoongea na nini, ndio hivyo hivyo, bila kwenda darasa.*** (3.03:102526:172)

'It's my language from [my] parents.[11] It's the way it was for them. I came to encounter it with others as I was growing up, listening to the way my older family members spoke and whatever, that's the way it was, without going to class.'

Baraka gives no explanation of the mechanics of how he learned Malila—the words 'learn' or 'teach' are not part of his answer. Instead, he just owns it. He got it from his parents, friends and older relatives as if it was something they simply gave to him. He further made the point that Malila need not be taught by dismissing any need to go to school to learn it, which was not information required by the question. Baraka and other parents who construed Malila as ***lugha yangu*** 'my language' would often do so as if it were one of their genetic features—as one inherits a certain eye colour, so one inherits a certain language. The discursive effect when participants used this kind of language was that Malila was very personal, a part of their origins and identity.

The next two possessive constructions in table 5.3 are ***lugha yake*** 'his/

[11] I've isolated the label from a second associative phrase in which it is embedded. I could specify ***lugha yangu ya wazazi*** 'my parental language' as the non-default label but the second associative marker is indicating his parents as the source for Malila as confirmed in the following sentence.

her language' and ***lugha yao*** 'their language'. I made three considerations when analysing these constructions. First, I group them together as 3rd person possessives without concern for number as there was no evidence for ideological motivation behind the choice of singular or plural—this was simply being determined by the context. Second, occurrence counts reflect only instances where the statements indexed Malila as the same construction could index other languages. Third, when gathering linguistic metadata on participants and their families (e.g. grandparents, parents and children) at the outset of the interviews, 3rd person possessives were used to answer almost all of those questions.[12] Where there was no evidence of ideological motivation for the choice, those references were not treated as 'non-default' labels. For the remaining occurrences of ***lugha yake*** and ***lugha yao***, in all but one instance, the pronominal antecedent indexes the respondents' children. This is interesting as it raises the question, why would parents who speak the same language as their children construe it as *their* language instead of *our* language (i.e. stress the shared ownership and solidarity with their children)? Consider the following examples. I asked Zuwena if she thought her daughter would continue speaking Malila into her adult life or if she thought it would die out. She responded:

(5) ***Uh uh, hakitakufa. Maana hiyo ni lugha yake.***
'No, [Malila] will not die. The reason being that it is her language.' (Q3.07:105659:216)

When I asked Hamisi and Nuru which languages their daughter speaks, Hamisi responded:

(6) ***Anaongea kimalila endapo anaongea kiswahili akiwa shuleni kwake, sasa, akiwa kijijini, kimalila hasa. Si unajua watoto wa kimalila lazima waongee lugha yao wakiwa kijijini. Wanajisahau kwamba sheria inasema waongee kiswahili kwa= hata kwenye mtaa. Lakini sasa kulingana na mazingira, utashangaa umekutana na wenzako huko, kimalila kinaanza kuchezwa!*** (Q1.02:100523:71)

[12] An example of an exception to this is (6).

> 'She speaks Malila but when she's at her school she speaks Swahili, however, if she's in the village, mostly Malila. You should know that Malila children, they pretty much have to speak their language if they're in the village. They forget that the rules are to speak Swahili[13] for= even on the street. But depending on the context you would be surprised, you meet up with your friends there and Malila starts to be spoken!'[14]

In both (5) and (6), Zuwena and Hamisi could have referred to Malila with a 1st person plural possessive but instead, they used a 3rd person possessive which has two interesting results. First, it creates distance between the parents and their children. The parents are making a statement about their children's independent ownership of the Malila language. It is not a co-ownership or an extension of the parents' ownership to their children but rather an independent ownership that is being construed. The discursive effect of this delinks parents from having a role in their children's ownership of Malila. Second, it implies a degree of agency on the part of children in the sense that independent ownership requires at least some element of choice or acceptance. It is a way of saying, 'I've passed this language on to my children and they have now taken it up as their own.' In doing so, parents are able to relinquish responsibility over the role of Malila in their children's lives. On one hand, this can instil confidence in the future of Malila—confidence that may stem from repeating their own experience of having inherited the language from their parents. On the other hand, it can also be a way of no longer taking responsibility for what children do with the Malila language. In either case, parents have done their 'job' by doing what their parents did with them. Zuwena's brief response in (5), reinforced by her intonation, strongly suggested a level of absurdity in my question. Her daughter's ownership of Malila *is* the reason she would never abandon it. But Zuwena's confidence is unfounded as many people from minoritised language communities stop using their languages for multiple reasons. I would argue that when parents employ the strategy of linking the language to their children, they are embracing an ideology that supports their hope for

[13] I take this as a reference to a school 'rule' that children are to speak Swahili with one another, even outside of class.

[14] Literally: 'Malila starts to be played with!'

the future of Malila; that their children will carry on the task of maintaining Malila language, culture and identity.

The one instance mentioned above where the pronominal antecedent of ***lugha yake*** 'his/her language' did not index respondents' children, came from my conversation with Raphael. He was explaining to me how the elderly are typically not conversant in Swahili and gave a hypothetical example:

(7) ***Kuna wazee ambao umri pengine ana miaka sabini, themanini unapomkuta ukimwongelea kiswahili atakuangalia tu usoni. Hakuongei kitu chochote. Inabidi urudi kwenye lugha yake ya asili.*** (Q3.01:110401:107)

'Among the elderly you may have someone with seventy, eighty years and when you meet up and speak with them in Swahili, they'll just stare at your face. They won't say a thing to you. You'll have to go back to their language of origin.'

In (7), Raphael combines two labels: ***lugha yake*** 'his/her language'[15] and ***lugha ya asili*** 'indigenous language'. The combination has the discursive effects discussed already for both labels but it also introduces a pervasive discourse that came out repeatedly in the data—examples that strongly link Malila to the elderly. The discourse preserves the story of previous generations who were not able to attend or successfully complete primary school because of economics, geography, the lack of primary schools and other factors. It also points out the important role assigned to primary schools whereby they become the principal source of access to formal Swahili instruction (and therefore, Swahili literacy). This aspect of the discourse weighs on parents today when it comes to making decisions about their children's education. (See section 5.2.2 below).

The 2nd person possessive constructions in table 5.3 are ***lugha yako*** 'your language' and ***lugha yenu*** 'your (plural) language'. Using these non-default labels is a creative strategy with unique results. When someone refers to

[15]For the English translation of example (7) I used 'they', 'them' and 'their' because of the gender ambiguity of 3rd person singular pronouns in Swahili. This eliminates cluttering the translation with 'he/she', 'him/her' and 'his/her'.

their language as 'your language' they are able to position themselves outside of the language as if to adopt a more objective stance. Gervas provides examples using both singular and plural forms. In one response he signalled a warning of what would happen if children were not given a foundation in Malila through the school system:

(8) ***Wengine wataanza hata kuona aibu kuongea kimalila kwa sababu yuko uswahilini. Kumbe lugha yako haitakiwi uionee aibu! Inatakiwa lugha yako uipende.*** (Q3.07:145440:166)

'Other [children] will begin to be ashamed to speak Malila because they are in a place where Swahili is spoken. But come on, you shouldn't be ashamed of your language! It's expected that you love your language.'

In another response he was defending the importance of knowing Swahili for encounters with people outside the Malila community:

(9) ***Kiswahili lazima inatakiwa uwasiliane na watu ambao ni tofauti na lugha yenu na kabila lenu au ni watu ambao ni wazawa wa kabila lingine.*** (Q3.07:145440:142)

'Swahili is necessary so you can communicate with others who are different from your (plural) language and your (plural) tribe or people who are from another tribe.'

Gervas refers to his own language as 'your language' using the singular form in example (8) and the plural form in example (9). Both uses have the same, two effects. First, they index the Malila language generically as a type. Malila, in this sense, stands as a representative of all indigenous languages in Tanzania. And second, Gervas is able to position himself as an authority on indigenous languages (i.e. as a speaker of one). He stands both within and without the indigenous collective when he issues his statements which have an admonishing tone. He uses ***inatakiwa*** 'it's necessary/required/expected' (a modality of social obligation is highlighted here) in both examples. His edict, 'It's expected that you love your language,' has no hedging—the modality is one of certainty.

TABLE 5.4: Discursive Effect of Possessive Pronouns on Positionality

PERSON	NUMBER	POSITION	DISCURSIVE EFFECT
1st	sg.	personally involved	noble, untouchable
	pl.	corporately involved	backed, supported
2nd	sg.	politically involved	objective stance, authority on
	pl.		
3rd	sg.	remotely involved	observer, free to abdicate responsibility, limited control, handed-off
	pl.		

The possessive choices parents used when representing the Malila language provided different ways to position themselves in the interviews. Following on from work by Foucault (1972) that emphasises the role of discourse in establishing social subjects, Fairclough reasons that 'by implication, questions of subjectivity, social identity, and "selfhood" ought to be of major concern in theories of discourse and language, and in discursive and linguistic analysis' (1992a, p.44). When respondents represent Malila as their and/or someone else's language, they are able to position themselves, other actors and myself (as the interviewer), in different ways with respect to the language. These different positions and their discursive effects are summarised in table 5.4.

The other non-default labels in table 5.3 without possessives link Malila to four other groups of people. The label ***lugha mama*** 'mother language' is the most problematic of these. As noted earlier, the grammatical construction of ***lugha mama*** is a departure from the canonical Swahili strategy of linking two nouns via the associative marker ***-a***. It is possible the phrase is undergoing lexicalisation into a compound noun (e.g. ****lughamama***). It could also be that the associative marker has elided giving way to a shortened or abbreviated form. Both possibilities reflect processes that point to the whole representing something greater than the sum of its parts and the need for a novel construction.

Despite low occurrence counts in the data, the label ***lugha mama*** is ubiquitous in Swahili-speaking countries, especially in neighbouring Kenya where authorities are implementing MTE and basic literacy in indigenous

languages throughout the early years of primary school. Furthermore, the English term *mother tongue* points to pervasive discourses across the international development community and beyond with strong political ideologies attached to it. As discussed in 3.1.1, 'mother tongue' is a highly contested term that can index different things for different people on different occasions with different agendas. When I hear ***lugha mama*** as 'mother tongue', it invokes a discourse for me that is likely quite different from the imaginations of parents who used it during the interviews. As such I must take care not to impose my own conceptualisations of 'mother tongue' onto ***lugha mama***. For this reason, I translate ***lugha mama*** literally as 'mother language' versus 'mother tongue'.

It is possible the label as used by parents in this study has connections to some of these broader discursive practices in the field of education. The extent to which the discourse was established locally versus coming from external influences, however, would be difficult to ascertain. Nonetheless, the matter of if, where or how it emerged among the Malila is secondary to the way in which parents are appropriating ***lugha mama*** for their purposes. In the data, all of the occurrences took place during discussions about language learning and language usage. The respondents used ***lugha mama*** as a justification for them or their children to speak Malila within the Malila community. Junior, a younger respondent who spends a great deal of time outside the community and admittedly prefers speaking Swahili, defended his use of Malila when at home in Ilembo:

(10) ***Lugha ya kimalila ndiyo lugha mama ambayo kwamba ninazaliwa nimeikuta lugha ya kimalila ambayo sasa nikaendelea nayo kujifunza nikiwa hapa.*** (2.01:142405:105)

'The Malila language is the mother language which [when] I was born I encountered the Malila language which now I continue learning it whenever I'm here [in Ilembo].'

Lazaro responded similarly when asked how he uses Malila differently from Swahili or English:

(11) ***Kimalila, yaani lugha mama hii, ndio unajua tunaizungumza sana. Yaani kueleweka sana kwa haraka mtu ambaye anakaa huku umalila, tuko tunaelewana vizuri sana.*** (2.01:110404:71)

'Malila is the mother language and you know we are speaking it a lot. I mean to be really understood quickly by someone who lives here in the Malila region, we're in a position to understand one another very well.'

Glory referred to Malila as ***lugha mama*** to describe why her five year-old daughter would never abandon it when she becomes an adult:

(12) ***Mimi nadhani kimalila hawezi akakiacha. Japokuwa hata kama amesoma, pengine ameenda mbali, hawezi akasahau lugha mama. Maana pengine amesoma huko amekuja na lugha zingine, zenyewe sisi hatuzifahamu. Inabidi aongee kimalila chenyewe na sisi tunaelewa na tunamjibu.*** (Q3.07:121102:159)

'For me I think that she can't abandon Malila. Even if she's gone to school, maybe she's gone far away, she can't forget the mother language. Because even if she studied elsewhere and she returns with other languages, we don't understand those other languages. She'll have to speak Malila only and then we can understand and respond to her.'

In examples (10) and (11), the label could be taken as one that literally links Malila to the respondents' mothers as a source for acquiring the language. In (12), however, the lack of circumstantial detail and the higher level of abstraction connected to a future time allows for a more metaphorical interpretation where Malila's status, not its source, is being foregrounded. Malila is being given a certain kind of primacy in a person's life by virtue of when, where, how and through whom it was acquired. I argue that Glory is not indexing her own mother or herself as her daughter's mother. Instead she is positioning Malila among Tanzania's indigenous languages—languages that are passed on to children before they begin schooling by parents. In

this sense, ***lugha mama*** could be analysed among the labels in table 5.2 which address the status of Malila. And as such, it could be an example of intertextuality whereby parents are drawing from national/international discourses about language. I would, however, want to explore this further with more data than the present set affords to make that claim.

The next two labels in table 5.3 link Malila to larger groups of people further establishing it as the language of a community. In example (13), Malila is linked to the Malila people as a tribe through the label ***lugha ya kabila*** 'tribal language'. In (14), it is linked to the Malila clan through the label ***lugha ya ukoo*** 'clan language'.

Eric contrasted Malila and Swahili by linking them to different groups and the spaces occupied by those groups:

(13) ***Kiswahili ni lugha ya taifa zima na kimalila ni lugha ya kabila. Kabila la kimalila wanatumia kimalila. Kwa mfano, nikitoka hapa= au ndani ya kata ya kwetu huku, au ndani ya eneo la kimalila, unaweza kuongea kimalila. Lakini nitakavyoendea labda mjini huko, Mwanjelwa wapi kule, kule itabidi nianze kuongea kiswahili kwa sababu siwezezi kuwakuta wamalila wengi ambao kuzungumza nao pekee yao.***
(Q3.02:122417:240)
'Swahili is the language of the entire nation and Malila is the language of the tribe. The Malila tribe use the Malila language. For example, if I leave here= or inside our neighbourhood here or inside the Malila region, you can speak Malila. But as I go out perhaps to town, Mwanjelwa or wherever, I have to start to speak Swahili because I can't meet up with many Malila who I could speak with alone.'

Zahra described why she uses Malila instead of Swahili:

(14) ***Ni lugha ya ukoo. Ee, wamalila wote wanaongea kimalila.***

Ee, ndivyo ilivyo. Hatuna lugha nyingine. Hatuwezi tukaiba lugha za watu! ((laughter)) (Q2.01:134138:161)

'It's the language of the clan. Eh, all Malila people speak Malila. Eh, that's just the way it is. We don't have another language. We can't go and steal languages of other people! ((*laughter*))'

These strategies resemble the statements of ownership seen above in the discussion of ***lugha yetu*** 'our language'. A key difference, however, is the distance that is both created and concealed when the speakers treat themselves as a third party. Ownership becomes indirect as speakers obscure themselves in a broader collective to which ownership is now ascribed. In this sense, it is more powerful than ***lugha yetu*** 'our language' which directly admits ownership and possibly comes with responsibilities connected to that ownership. There is no clear difference between 'tribe' and 'clan' in these two examples. It could be that Zahra was making it more personal but I would argue from the context she was using 'clan' as a meronym for 'tribe'. The discursive effect, however, is similar so I analyse them together.

The last label in table 5.3 is ***lugha ya watoto*** 'children's language'. This label has less to do with ownership or possession and more to do with recognising a well-established social practice where the Malila language is the dominant language used by parents with children at home. Parents make some effort to introduce Swahili to their children but as will be discussed further in 5.2.2, this task is left largely to primary schools. Prosper explains how the social practice plays out in his home:

(15) ***Na watoto naweza nikatumia kimalila. Sana sana kuongea na watoto ni kutumia kimalila sana sana kwa sababu ndio lugha ya watoto, kiswahili sio sana. Labda ni kumwuliza tu kitu kwa kiswahili kwamba, 'hiki kinaitweje?' Ndio naweza nikatumia hivyo. Sana sana ni kimalila.*** (Q2.01:143151:188)

'With the children I am typically using Malila. So much speaking with the children is done using a lot of Malila because it's the language of children, Swahili not so much. Maybe I'll ask them something in Swahili like, "What this called?" I'll use [Swahili] in

that way. [Otherwise] it's mostly Malila.'

The isolated reference to ***lugha ya watoto*** in (15) is by no means representative of how well the social practice of speaking Malila with children is established or just how frequently it was talked about by parents during the interviews. Figure 5.1 summarises by household, parents' perceptions about the language(s) in which their children are most proficient.

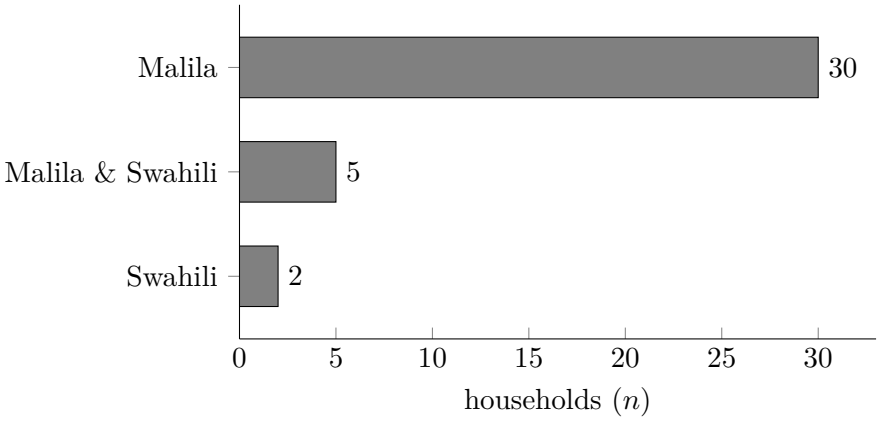

FIGURE 5.1: Highest language proficiency of children by household as indicated by parents

Having parents report on their children is highly susceptible to response biases, especially social desirability. In the present study, however, this is less of an issue since CDA is interested in what is being presented and why. Fisher and Katz (2000) argues social desirability bias may actually give insight into what respondents value. Prosper's response above in (15) is highly indicative of parents' desire to pass the Malila language on to their children. While some expressed regret for not using more Swahili at home, none of the respondents were apologetic about using Malila with their children.

TABLE 5.5: Malila Non-default Labels: Origins

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ya kuzaliwa (nayo)	'birth language' (or 'born-with-it language')	15	12
lugha niliyokulia/ tulioyokulia	'language in which I/we grew up'	2	2

Table 5.5 summarises the non-default labels used by participants to link the Malila language to their origins (i.e. 'roots') within the Malila community. I was surprised to have heard ***lugha ya kuzaliwa*** 'birth language' as frequently as I did since this is not a label I took notice of prior to this research. As an associative phrase, it can take other modifiers and be combined with other labels. Half of the references in the data included the prepositional phrase ***nayo*** 'with it'. This addition elaborates the lack of effort Malila speakers perceive when learning Malila at a very young age, hence, the alternate translation of 'born-with-it language'. Representing Malila in this way accomplishes at least three functions: i.) it gives primacy to Malila over other languages by virtue of its establishment at the outset of one's life; ii.) by construing the Malila language as something that is inherited from parents, (i.e. one is 'born with it'), the label contributes to a Malila identity by advancing a Malila 'pedigree'; and iii.) it reveals an important belief about how Malila is learned and the resulting high degree of proficiency, which sets it apart from other languages.

Imani demonstrates the first point well. The following excerpt is taken from the interview with her and her husband Boniface. It took place at the beginning while I was gathering demographic data about their household, specifically the languages they used with their two daughters. The turn-taking was quick and the whole exchange in (16) took place over 17 seconds before moving on to the next question.

(16) Danny: ***Mnaongea lugha zipi na Penda na Nyimbo***?
'Which languages do both of you speak with Penda and Nyimbo?'
Imani: ***Ni kimalila na kiswahili.***
'It's Malila and Swahili.'
Boniface: ***Ni kimalila na kiswahili.***
'It's Malila and Swahili.'
Danny: ***Sawasawa au moja inatawala zaidi kuliko nyingine?***
'The same or does one dominate the other?'
Imani: ***Moja inatawala.***

'One dominates.'

Danny: ***Ipi?***

'Which one?'

Imani: ***Kimalila.***

'Malila.'

Danny: ***Kimalila?***

'Malila?'

Imani: ***Ee.***

'Yes.'

Danny: ***Kwa nini kimalila kuliko kiswahili?***

'Why Malila over Swahili?'

Imani: ***Kwa sababu ni lugha ya kuzaliwa nayo.***

'Because it's the born-with-it language.'
(Q2.02:140842:142–149)

Imani's last response was deserving of further probing, however, in the moment, I failed to notice the analytical value of her statement. By using ***lugha ya kuzaliwa nayo***, she released an entire discourse that establishes Malila's primacy. The label stands in place of a lengthy defence of her position. She justifies giving priority to Malila when speaking with her daughter for all the reasons conjured up by the label and she expects her audience to to do the same. My own lack of probing may also reveal that, in the moment, I was satisfied by her answer. After all, it has a 'ring' of common sense. In reality, however, the idea deserves to be challenged as humans are not born using complex, structured language.

To the second point of how the label advances a Malila pedigree (i.e. a lineage or heritage), in (17) Oscar describes the loss faced by young people who do not have the opportunity to formally learn Malila if later, they leave the region in pursuit of education and work. He was recommending policy change that would allow formal instruction in Tanzania's indigenous languages.

(17) ***Kwa maono yangu, ningesema kweli lugha isikose; lugha hii tumezaliwa nayo hii. Maanake watoto wakikua wana=***

> ***inapotea. Inapotea inakuwa ni hasara hata mbele. Mtoto anaweza akapata hasara. Anasoma anasoma anasoma anasoma anasoma akipata kazi akifika huko mbele atakuta anashindwa kuelewa kwamba wewe sasa ni wa wapi. Lugha gani ya kwenu? Atashindwa kuongea kwa sababu hajawahi ongea= nanii hajawahizungumzia, hajawahisoma hiki kilugha cha kwao.*** (Q3.12:133110:142)
>
> 'To me completely from what I see, I would truly say the language should not be left out; this language being the one that we were born with. Because as children growing up they= it's disappearing. It's disappearing and it's a loss, especially in the future. A child can find it's a loss. They study and study and study and study and study and get a job and get established somewhere only to find one day they don't know where they're from or the language that is spoken there. They can't speak [Malila] because they've never spoken= I mean they've never conversed, they've never studied this local language from where they're from.'

For Oscar, children who grow up in the Malila community should be provided with the tools to preserve and protect the language that they were born with so they do not lose the sense of where they come from. Oscar and others make the Malila language the key link to or proof of one's origin. Without it, the connection to the Malila community (i.e. one's 'roots') is lost.

Third, Pius profoundly revealed a way of thinking about language learning that was expressed to me in various ways on multiple occasions. (This is discussed further in section 5.2.2.) I asked him how he learned Malila and he used ***lugha ya kuzaliwa nayo*** to construe the idea that the ability to speak Malila was something he inherited as a child:

(18) ***Kimalila nilijifunza hivyo hivyo kwa sababu nilikuta wakina mama wanaongea tunavyokua vile. Moja kwa moja nikakijua= nikakijua moja kwa moja bila kuteseka kujifunza, kama lugha ya kuzaliwa nayo.*** (Q3.03:130729:157)

'I learned Malila in the same manner because I encountered women[16] speaking as we grew up that way. Directly I knew it= I knew it directly without having to suffer to learn, it's like a born-with-it language.'

Pius uses the label in a simile, thus, painting a picture of language learning that obscures the intense and complex process whereby children acquire their first language. To the contrary, the Malila language is presented here as one that effortlessly appears on the scene as opposed to other languages that are acquired through formal learning experiences in school buildings with teachers, books, examinations, grades, etc.

The other label linking Malila to origins in table 5.5 moves beyond birth and links Malila to the formative years of one's life. When Wilson was explaining to me why he was more proficient in Malila than Swahili he said:

(19) ***Nakuwa na ujasili zaidi kwenye kimalila sababu ni lugha yangu niliyokulia nayo.*** (Q2.02:141329:126)
'I have more confidence [speaking] in Malila because it's the language with which I grew up.'

Irene, explaining why Malila was important to her, simply said:

(20) ***Ndiyo lugha tuliyokulia.*** (Q3.01:102144:153)
'It's the language in which we grew up.'

The choice to represent Malila in this way construes it as the vehicle for communication during one's most formative years. It also gives the sense that one was immersed in the Malila language during their youth. The verb from which the label is derived, ***kukua*** 'to grow up', is commonly used to state where or when a person spent their youth—conditions that are encompassing and immutable so its usage here extends those attributes to Malila. Furthermore, stating that one 'grew up' in a particular language

[16] ***wakina mama*** is difficult to translate here. Possibilities are 'womenfolk' or 'mothers' but it most likely refers to various women in Pius' life who were a part of his upbringing.

implicitly credits that language with the role of (and sufficiency for) carrying all of the knowledge a person needs in order to become an adult. The label's metaphorical nature and its resulting oversimplification, however, conceal how unlikely it would be for children in Tanzania to grow up in a monolingual situation. For example, Both Wilson and Irene completed primary school and as such, would have had a great deal of exposure to Swahili while they were growing up.

TABLE 5.6: Malila Non-default Labels: Location

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ya kwetu	'language of our [home]'	8	5
lugha ya kwangu	'language of my [home]'	4	4
lugha ya kwake	'language of his/her [home]'	3	3
lugha ya kwenu	'language of your [home]'	2	2
lugha ya kwao	'language of their [home]'	1	1
lugha ya kwako	'language of your (pl.) [home]'	1	1
lugha ya nyumbani	'language of the home'	5	4
lugha ya hapahapa	'language of right [here]'	2	2

The last set of non-default labels for the Malila language found in the data are presented in table 5.6. They link Malila to a specific geographical location using associative phrases. The first six labels are associations with possessives (recall the previous discussion of possessives that link Malila to people in table 5.3). However, adding the class 17 locative prefix ***ku-***[17] inflects the possessive pronouns into locative possessive pronouns. These can be translated as 'my place', 'our place', 'your place', etc.; however, in colloquial speech it has the sense of 'home'. For example, it is common to simply refer to one's home as ***kwetu*** 'our home', ***kwangu*** 'my home', ***kwenu*** 'your home', etc. Furthermore, 'home' can index both a person's physical residence (i.e. a house) and/or the geographical region where one locates their origins (i.e. as when describing where a person 'comes from').

By combining possession and location, the previous discussion related to

[17] Morphophonological processes change the prefix vowel to a semi-vowel resulting in ***kw-***.

possessive pronouns is applicable here so examples of each label is unnecessary. Instead, I focus on the addition of location to possessives and its discursive effect. The strategy has three results. First, it was mostly used by participants to present Malila as being more treasured, special, or of higher value by deepening the connection between Malila, its speakers and the geographical space where Malila people, language and culture take up their permanent residence. For example Aron, in agreement that teaching Malila can provide a foundation for learning Swahili, added that you cannot simply abandon Malila:

(21) ***Ni kweli. Unajifunza kimalila kwanza, kinakuja kiswahili. Maana sisi huku ni kwetu umalila. Huwezi ukaitupa lugha ya kwenu.*** (3.08:114640:173)

'It's true. You learn Malila first and then Swahili comes along. Because for us here, the Malila region is our home. You can't go and throw away the language of your home.'

Second, the combination of possession and location presented Malila as a more familiar and therefore, easier language to communicate with. Prosper contrasted his understanding of English with his understanding of Malila to demonstrate this:

(22) ***Kama mimi hapa, ukiniambia kiingereza sitakujibu. Hata hii hapa,*** ((picks up a pen from the table)) ***nitajua kwamba ni penseli, sijui, peni, nitashindwa kufahamu. Sasa kwa lugha ya kwangu nafahamu haraka!*** (3.08:143151:281)

'Like me here, if you speak to me in English I won't [be able to] answer you. Even this here, ((picks up a pen from the table)) I should know it's a pencil, I don't know, a pen, I won't be able to understand. But in the language of my home, I understand it quickly!'

Third, the aspect of location was used to more strongly differentiate Malila from other languages. Hamisi was explaining the kind of social situations

that require him to speak Swahili:

(23) ***Kwa hiyo lazima mwenzako huwezi ukamwambia lugha ambayo haijui na [lugha] ya kwangu haijui, [lugha] ya kwake siijui.*** (Q2.01:100523:111)

'So there's no way you can speak to someone in a language they don't know and they don't know my home language and I don't know their home language.'

The discourse that connects Malila to the Malila people and the Malila region is a very established one. For many, it makes the notion of developing the language for education redundant to the extent that it is viewed as a distraction or a waste of time. Baraka was not at all interested in bringing Malila into his son's classroom:

(24) ***Akitumia kimalila darasani pale atashindwa kwenda kuongea kiswahili na watu ambao watatoka nje kidogo na kimalila. Inabidi aanzie kiswahili ili apate kuelewa watu wanaokuja mbele wengi. Maanake kimalila tunajua ni lugha ya nyumbani. Hiyo ni ya kwake tu. Hiyo haimtoki kichwani. Yaani ni= lugha hiyo haimtoki kichwani. Inapokuwa haijamtoka kichwani, inabidi aongezewe lugha zingine ambazo sasa ndiyo zile za kujifunza= ndiyo kiswahili. Ajue kiswahili, ajifunze kiingereza, ajifunze ili apate marafiki wengine kupitia lugha.*** (Q3.08:102526:228)

'If he uses Malila there in the classroom he will not be able to speak Swahili with people who are just outside of the Malila language. He has to start out in Swahili so that he gets to understand all those people he will encounter in the future. We know that Malila is the language of the home. It is just for his home. It can't leave his head. In other words it= that language can't leave his head. Being the case that it can't come out of his head, he then needs to acquire other languages, which are the ones being taught= especially Swahili. He should know Swahili, he should learn English, he should learn [those languages] so that he gets many other friends through [other]

languages.'

In this example, central to Baraka's argument is the statement ***Hiyo ni ya kwake tu.*** 'It is just for his home.' While the statement binds Malila to his home, it also confines it there. That children will encounter Malila at home is taken as a given throughout the community and therefore, it is neither needed nor welcomed in the classroom. Why would anyone need to learn Malila at school when they already know it and can use it outside of school? Classroom opportunities should be reserved for learning other languages—languages that cannot be accessed at home or within the community.[18]

Two other labels linking Malila very specifically to the Malila region and peoples' homes were ***lugha ya nyumbani*** 'language of the home' and ***lugha ya hapahapa*** 'language of right here'. The former has already appeared in the previous example from Baraka. Emmanuel does something similar by using it together with the status label ***lugha ya asili*** 'indigenous language'. He was highlighting the importance for his daughter to be able to use Malila at home, especially with her grandparents:

(25) ***Kwa sababu ni lugha ya nyumbani ya kiasili, kana kwamba anapokutana na babu yake akute anaongea lugha ambayo hawaelewani, inaweza ikawa shida kidogo. Aa huyu mtoto sasa inakuweje?! Kwa maana sehemu zingine ni lazima hawezi kusahau napo lakini. Inakuwa ni ngumu kabisa kwamba asahau hata salamu. Haiwezekani. Kwa sababu nimeona wengi hata angekaa miaka 30 huko lakini akirudi nyumbani, ile lugha haitoki kabisa. Zile salamu haziwezi kuisha. Labda atasahau kuvitaja baadhi ya vitu lakini ni mara chache. Ni mara chache.*** (Q3.08:112354:223)

'Because it's the indigenous language of the home, for example, if she meets up with her grandfather and finds she's speaking a language they can't understand, it's a bit of a problem. Well how is it now for a child like that?! Because sometimes [Malila is] crucial and she can't forget it just like that, however. It's almost impossible that

[18] These beliefs will be discussed further in 5.3.2.

> she would forget at least the greetings. It's impossible. Because I've seen many people and even if she stays away for 30 years but she returns home, that language won't disappear completely. The greetings can't just disappear. She might forget how to mention a few things but that's rare. That's rare.'

Two important discourses are revealed here. First, it is well-established in discourse that the elderly across rural Tanzania lack proficiency in Swahili. I attribute this perception largely to their level of education and the role schools play in learning Swahili. The current generation of Malila grandparents (i.e. those born before 1980) would have had limited access to primary school. And in this study, only 10 out of 65 parents attended secondary school. These low levels of education have resulted in a perception of low Swahili proficiency and therefore, a greater inclination towards speaking Malila. Actual proficiency levels in Swahili among adults and the elderly are likely higher than what they themselves perceive.

Second, Emmanuel draws out another popular discourse where children who grow up, leave the region and achieve higher levels of education, are expected to retain Malila and use it when they come back home. If they fail to do so, they can be viewed by local family and friends as arrogant. They may even feel disconnected from their roots or that they have somehow betrayed their home community. My literal translation of Emmanuel's question in the second sentence of (25) does not adequately communicate his frustration with a child who tries to speak a different language with their grandfather. A better English translation might be, 'What's wrong with a child like that?'

Both of these discourses anchor the Malila language in the Malila region with the Malila people. Earlier in example (3) above, Ahadi used ***lugha yetu*** to establish clear social boundaries around Malila but she also used ***lugha ya hapahapa*** 'language of right here'[19] to establish geographical boundaries. Our conversation at that point was about the differences between Swahili and Malila. Both Ahadi and her husband, Godfrey, explained the main difference was the context that would be most appropriate for each language:

[19]In Swahili, ***hapa*** 'here', when reduplicated to ***hapahapa*** results in greater emphasis and specificity, e.g. 'right here'.

(26) ***Kimalila ni cha wachache, ee ni cha wachache, yaani tuseme cha sehemu hii hii ya Umalila tu. Lakini nikitoka hapa, nikienda Kyela huko, nikiongea kimalila hawanielewi. Ni cha kwetu hapahapa. Lakini sasa kiswahili, tuseme kimekamata karibu Tanzania nzima. Kwa hiyo tuseme kwamba kiswahili nacho ni cha muhimu sana, ni cha muhimu sana kukifahamu. Sababu usipokifahamu itabidi uishie hapa hapa, huku huku Umalila.*** (Q3.02:131424:184)

'Malila is for a few people, yeah a few, in other words, let's say it's just for this Malila place right here. But if I leave here, if I go there to Kyela[20] and I speak Malila, they won't understand me. [Malila] is just for right here. But now Swahili, let's say it has taken over just about all of Tanzania. Therefore we can say that Swahili is very important, it's very important to understand it. The reason being if you don't understand it, you had better stay put right here, hereabouts in the Malila region.'

Twice, Godfrey uses ***Umalila*** 'Malila region' to identify the geographical area where the Malila people live and the Malila language is spoken. The construction is formed by adding the Swahili class 11 prefix ***u-*** to ***-malila*** which is a common grammatical strategy for deriving place names (e.g. ***Ufaransa*** 'France'). Despite the lack of official recognition of indigenous languages and communities within Tanzania, Tanzanians have a surprisingly clear understanding of those communities' geographical boundaries. I came across the map in figure 5.2 during a visit to one of the local Malila language offices. The map's title is ***RAMANI YA ENEO LA UMALILA*** 'AREA MAP OF THE MALILA REGION' and it shows detailed boundaries with the Safwa, Nyakyusa, Ndali, Lambya and Nyiha language communities (clockwise).

[20] Kyela is located just to the south of Ilembo on the northern tip of lake Malawi within the Nyakyusa language community.

FIGURE 5.2: Map of the Malila Region

5.1.2 Non-default Labels for Swahili

'Social agents texture texts, they set up relations between elements of texts' (Fairclough 2003, p.22). As with Malila, exploring alternative ways to index Swahili while paying special attention to ideological texturing revealed how parents could elevate or suppress distinctive properties they ascribed to the language. Interestingly, the inventory of 12 non-default labels identified for Swahili was half that of the 24 found for Malila. They point to discourses which reveal beliefs about Swahili as a force of *unification* (table 5.7), its *otherness* (table 5.8), its *instructional benefits* (table 5.9) and its *geographical and social reach* (table 5.10).

One particular label, however, presented a number of challenges. Referring to Swahili as ***lugha ya taifa*** 'language of the nation' has become so ubiquitous it is questionable as to whether or not the label should be treated as non-default. It is connected to a number of discourses that link Swahili to various ideologies including beliefs about national unity, quality of education

and Tanzanian identity. I will discuss the other non-default labels for Swahili first as they more candidly reveal some of these ideologies and then return to this unique label in its own section.

The three non-default labels for Swahili in table 5.7 connect it to a well-established discourse that uphold it as unifying force in Tanzania. The labels' grammatical constructions utilise different strategies to link ***lugha*** 'language' to something or someone through associative markers, possessives and other adnominals.

TABLE 5.7: Swahili Non-default Labels: Unification

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
-unganisha	'unite'	8	4
lugha yake	'its language'	1	1
lugha yetu	'our language'	2	2

Swahili verb forms can undergo complex inflectional and derivational processes that accomplish a variety of semantic and pragmatic functions. The first label in table 5.7 represents a set of labels derived from the verb form ***-unganisha*** 'unite', which is an inflection of the verb ***-unga*** 'join':

'unify' a. ***-ung-a***
join-IND
'join'

b. ***-ung-ani-sh-a***
-join-RECP-CAUS-IND
'unite'

By affixing reciprocal and causative extensions, 'join' becomes 'unite' or more literally, 'make one another to join together'. Parents referred to Swahili with various labels using nominalised forms of ***-unganisha***:

(27) a. ***lugha y-a ku-tu-ung-ani-sh-a***
language c9-AM c15.INF-1PL-join-RECP-CAUS-IND
'language of to-unite-us' (Q3.08:133110:120)

b. ***lugha y-a mu-ung-an-o***
language c9-AM c3-join-RECP-NMLZ
'language of the union' (Q2.01:140842:125)

c. ***ki-ung-ani-sh-i***
c7-join-RECP-CAUS-NMLZ
'joiner'[21] (Q2.01:100523:111)

d. ***lugha u-ung-ani-sh-i***
language c14-join-RECP-CAUS-NMLZ
'unification language'[22] (Q2.01:100523:111)

In (27-a), Oscar linked Swahili to the infinitive verb form with an associative marker. He was defending his desire to see Malila implemented as an LoI but used this label when he mentioned Swahili. Rashid also used this label to describe Swahili as the intermediary language that he would use to teach me Malila. Boniface explained how he normally uses Malila while in Umalila but if he encountered someone who could not speak Malila, he would instead use Swahili, which he indexed with the form in (27-b). This is a very political way of indexing Swahili and one that I have not encountered before as it is rare to hear the term ***muungano*** outside of its use in Tanzania's official name: ***Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania*** 'Republic of Union of Tanzania' or less literally 'United Republic of Tanzania'.

Oscar, Rashid and Boniface were all advocating for the Malila language when they deployed these high-value labels for Swahili. It seemed odd to me and I have chosen to analyse their representations of Swahili as expressions of modality. Fairclough gives permission 'to take a very inclusive view of what may mark modalization' (2003, p.170) as part of the process of analysing identificational meanings in texts. The three fathers demonstrated hedging by tempering their commitment to Malila with their commitment to Swahili. The strategy allowed them to show that their affections for Malila should not be taken in any way as a detraction from their commitment to the ideology of national unification and its embodiment in Swahili.

Consider again Hamisi's response from example (23) (re-presented here

[21] ***Kiunganishi*** is also the Swahili grammatical term for 'conjunction'.

[22] Class 14 nouns are abstract nouns with no plural form. When two nouns are in apposition, the second modifies the first.

with more context) when I asked him to explain how he used Malila and Swahili in his day-to-day activities.

(28) ***Tatizo kunakuwa na mwingine Mndali, mwingine Mchusa, kwa mwingine ndio mimi Mmalila, mwingine Mnyiha, mwingine= Kwa hiyo sasa mkikutana, tunaongea lugha moja ya taifa, ambayo ni lugha ya taifa ambayo ndiyo kiswahili; kiunganishi tuseme. Kwa hiyo lazima mwenzako huwezi ukamwambia lugha ambayo haijui na [lugha] ya kwangu haijui, [lugha] ya kwake siijui. Kwa hiyo lazima tuongee lugha uunganishi ya taifa ambayo ni Kiswahili.*** (Q2.01:100523:111)

'The problem is one person is Ndali, another is Nyakyusa, to someone else I'm Malila, another is Nyiha, another= Therefore now if you all meet up, we speak one language of the nation, which is the language of the nation that is indeed Swahili; a joiner let's say. Therefore, it's imperative that you don't speak a language to your friend that they don't know and= they don't know mine and I don't know theirs. Therefore it's imperative we speak the unification-language of the nation which is Swahili.'

Hamisi's response is bordering on awkward in its effort to imbue Swahili with his ideological assumptions. He uses the labels in both (27-c) and (27-d) as well as ***lugha ya taifa*** 'language of the nation' three times (once in combination with ***lugha uunganishi*** 'unification language'). His answer would have perhaps suited a more biased question such as, 'Why would you use Swahili here in Umalila?' But the request I posed to Hamisi was to explain his day-to-day usage of the languages he reported speaking—Malila and Swahili. Of course, I am not able to state with certainty that Hamisi viewed me as unbiased and there may have been unknown factors in the social context of the interview that I was not aware of or able to mitigate; however, I can state that many others responded to the same interview item without these ideological insertions (i.e. they used default labels).

Similar to Hamisi, Boniface also used an extravagant label for Swahili when he described his basic rule for choosing which language to speak:

(29) ***Tukiwa huku huku ukimwona anayejua kimalila unaongea kimalila tu. Ukiona hamuelewani unaongea lugha ya muungano ya kutuunganisha yetu tujue tunaongelea nini.*** (Q2.01:140842:127)

'If we're here [in Umalila] and you see someone who knows Malila you just speak Malila. If you see [someone and] you're not understanding one another you'll speak our unifying language of the union so that we'll know what we're talking about.'

Boniface's term for Swahili in (29) combines three labels:

- ***lugha ya muungano*** 'language of the union'
- ***lugha ya kutuunganisha*** 'language of to-unite-us'
- ***lugha yetu*** 'our language' (discussed below)

These come together into the power-label ***lugha ya muungano ya kutuunganisha yetu*** 'our unifying language of the union' and the effect is one that could arguably be described as gratuitous in the context it was used in.

All of the derivations of ***-unganisha*** '-unifying' in (27) are nominalised verb forms[23] which allowed parents to conceal that unity is a material process (see Thompson 2013) enacted by people. Nominalisation is one strategy for concealing actors (Fairclough 2003; van Leeuwen 2008) and here, this obfuscation provides space for Swahili to fill that omission. Consider two other references from the data where ***-unganisha*** is inflected with subject and object prefixes as a transitive verb (i.e. not used as a label) to give Swahili agentive properties:

(30) ***Kiswahili si kinatuunganisha kwa mtu wa ambaye sio kabila lako?*** (Q3.01:140842:165)

'Is Swahili not uniting us together for someone who is not from your tribe?'

[23]The infinitive verb in (27-a) is operating as a noun in this kind of associative construction.

(31) ***Kiswahili ni muhimu kwa sababu kinatuunganisha, maana ni lugha ya taifa.*** (Q3.01:140842:175)
'Swahili is important because it unites us, the reason being it's the language of the nation.'

Both Boniface in (30) and his wife Imani in (31), anthropomorphise Swahili as an agent with unifying abilities. When people use this kind of language, they ascribe a great deal of social power to Swahili. Boniface and his wife were strong advocates for Malila and were in favour of changes that would see it used as an LoI for their children but during our interview, they would both represent Swahili with strong political rhetoric laden with positive values of unity and nationhood. This highlights the value they attach to *both* languages.

Returning to the non-default labels for Swahili in table 5.7 and the second label in the list, Hamisi describes Swahili with a possessive construction, ***lugha yake*** 'its language' as part of a negated rhetorical question:

(32) ***Tanzania si lugha yake ni kiswahili?*** (Q3.05:100523:167)
'Is Swahili not Tanzania's language?'

In (32), ***lugha***, the possessed, refers to Swahili and ***yake*** 'its', anaphorically refers to Tanzania as the possessor. The nature of this possession (i.e. is it alienable, inalienable, part-whole, attributive etc.?) is not marked grammatically and there is little contextual support to make speculations. What is interesting, however, is the singular nature of the possessive form ***yake***. This is a clear example of a semiotic strategy intended to suppress difference—one of the ways texts serve to establish and sustain political hegemony (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). Fairclough describes the process as 'projecting certain particulars as universals' (2003, p.41). Boniface does not construe Swahili as being *one* of Tanzania's languages (i.e among many). In this discourse Tanzania does not have *languages*, it has *a language*.

The last label in table 5.7, ***lugha yetu*** 'our language' also utilises a possessive construction in the representation of Swahili as a unifying force.

After informing Prisca about the most recent Education and Training Policy, I asked her how she felt about the plan to discontinue English as an LoI in secondary schools and teach it only as a subject. She was in favour of the change and when probed further as to why, she responded:

(33) ***Kwa sababu kiswahili ndio lugha yetu (1.5) kimataifa. Kiingereza kitakuwa kama somo inakuwa ni vizuri. Sasa wakifundishia sana kiingereza inakuwa ni vigumu.***
(Q3.11:144814:293)

'Because Swahili is our language (1.5) intertribal. If English becomes a subject it will be good. When they teach a lot with English it becomes difficult.'

Prisca described Swahili as ***lugha yetu*** 'our language' in a similar manner to the way participants used the label for Malila; however, she was making a strong claim of shared ownership of Swahili by Tanzanians in general as opposed to just the Malila community. Here ***yetu*** 'our' is exclusive of me (i.e. the interviewer) but inclusive of Tanzanians (i.e. those for whom the policy exists). After using the label she paused for 1.5 seconds and then appended the adjective ***kimataifa*** 'intertribal'.[24] Prisca's use of this label allowed her to re-position herself from one collective: the Malila people, into another: the Tanzanian people. This identificational shift is important for Prisca's argument in that the Tanzanian people become a homogeneous group of Swahili speakers who find English too difficult for instruction and would be served better if it were taught as a subject. Discursively, Prisca was more interested in the goal of linking Swahili to a common purpose (in this case a change in social structures and practices) than she was to its owners, hence, a different analysis than the same label as it applied to Malila. This is congruent with a CDA agenda that is concerned with not only linguistic forms but more importantly, what it is that people are doing with them (M. Bloor and T. Bloor 2007). And here, Prisca is also suppressing difference by grouping Tanzanians together in that i.) they all own Swahili, ii.) they would all be better served if English were a subject, and iii.) they all find too

[24] As will be seen in the discussion below of non-default labels for English, this usage of ***kimataifa*** for 'intertribal' is somewhat atypical as the term is more commonly used to denote 'international'.

much instruction in English difficult. This is not unification in the sense of national unity, but it is unifying in another sense where people are grouped together around one language (Swahili) in an effort to reposition another (English). Advocates for the current Education and Training Policy have strongly promoted the discourse that there are no examples of wealthy nations that rely on foreign or colonial languages. Prisca's strategy both abstracts and generalises a specific problem and solution in a way that gives the solution, greater reach and power over other solutions while simultaneously oversimplifying the underlying problem.

On the matter of possessive constructions as non-default language labels, it should be pointed out that in the data, the labels for Malila exhausted Swahili's inventory of person markers (see table 5.3) whereas the labels for Swahili only utilised the 3rd person singular in (32) and the 1st person plural in (33). Furthermore, of these, it is only the latter where Swahili is possessed by people. Compare this isolated reference to Swahili as ***lugha yetu*** with the 27 references to Malila as ***lugha yetu*** (or to the 55 references where Malila is linked to people through the full range of personal pronouns). This could point to an important difference in how ownership over indigenous languages and Swahili is perceived whereby Swahili is possessed by the state and indigenous languages are possessed by the communities who speak them.

The discussion up to this point has been focused on the non-default labels for Swahili that construe it as a force of unification. These labels are empowered by various semiotic strategies that suppress difference and obscure agency. The effect this has on fragile indigenous languages is profound, especially in the kind of rural contexts where this research is situated. For example, in 10 interviews parents reported feeling disappointed with themselves for speaking Malila excessively at home and therefore, not providing enough Swahili support to their children. Eberhard, Simons and Fennig (2021) rank Malila as *vigorous* or *6a* on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (see Lewis and Simons 2010) but bordering on the status of *threatened* or *6b*. Parents who concede to the pressure of increasing their children's exposure to Swahili by reducing the amount of Malila they speak at home will undoubtedly impact the transmission of Malila to the next generation—a capability that they deeply value.

In sharp contrast to Swahili being construed in ways that elevate it as a national language of unification, four non-default labels were used to present Swahili negatively; as a language without any specific connection to the Malila community. These are given below in table 5.8:

TABLE 5.8: Swahili Non-default Labels: Otherness

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ngeni	'foreign language'	2	2
lugha ya wapi	'language of wherever'	1	1
lugha zingine	'other languages'	5	4
lugha nyingine	'other/another language'	1	1

Both Fredy and Jackson used ***lugha ngeni*** 'foreign language' to describe what their children encountered in the classroom by being submersed in Swahili at the outset of primary school. They were making the point that their children were disadvantaged because they spoke Malila at home. Jackson describes the situation:

(34) ***Sasa wanachelewa kuelewa kwa vile wanaikuta lugha ngeni wakiwa shuleni. Inamuwia vigumu kuielewa haraka haraka. Inabidi labda akifika kama darasa la tatu, la nne ndio ananza kuelewa kwamba hapa wamezungumzia nini lakini kama akiwa chekechea na wanaongea kiswahili, anaondoka kama vile unampigia kelele tu.*** (Q3.05:134138:231)

'Well they're late to understand because they encounter a foreign language when they're in school. It's difficult for them to understand things quickly. Maybe when [my son] reaches class three or four he better be starting to understand what it is they're talking about but if he's in nursery school and they're speaking Swahili, he walks away as if they've just made a bunch of noise for him.'

Fredy and Jackson's lexical choice of ***ngeni*** 'foreign' is a surprisingly aggressive move to relocate Swahili to a far-off place. Leyla used ***lugha ya wapi*** 'language of wherever' to describe the same disadvantage for her daughter;

however, she was not arguing for more Swahili at home but rather more Malila in the classroom:

(35) ***Mtoto anapoingia hapa anakuwa mdogo. Pengine nyumbani amezoea sana kimalila. Sasa anapokuja mwalimu anamwambia tu kiswahili, inakuwa sijui, ni lugha ya wapi!*** (3.08:114120:142)

'When a child goes into [primary school] they are small. In some cases they have become very used to Malila. Now when the teacher comes and just speaks to them in Swahili, it's I don't know, a language of wherever!'

Leyla 'others' Swahili by physically linking it to some unknown place. (Her position that small children struggle to understand Swahili was repeated frequently by parents and is discussed further in 5.3.1.) Of course, Fredy, Jackson and Leyla all know where Swahili 'comes from', which imbues their statements with greater condemnation.

The labels ***lugha zingine*** 'other languages' and ***lugha nyingine*** 'other/another language' differ grammatically only in number[25] and were used frequently by parents. Most of these references were uninteresting from a CDA perspective but several instances suggested discursive purposes beyond merely referencing *other* languages. In its plural form, the label grouped Swahili together with English as languages external to the Malila region. In its singular form, it appeared to be a covert way to reference Swahili as a destructive force. Wilson used both labels in response to interview item 3.07, which addressed his children's future language-use; however, his answer digressed into a personal grievance about the potential for Swahili to supplant the Malila language:

(36) ***Lugha ya kimalila imeanza kubaki huku. Wakienda huko wanazikuta lugha zingine kwenye vitabu; ni masomo yao. Ndio wanarudi nayo hadi huku; kwa hiyo, tunaweza tukaua***

[25]Plural forms of class 9 nouns such as ***lugha*** are not inflected for number but their modifiers take plural agreement markers from class 10.

> ***asili yetu na tukawa na asili nyingine, mtazamo wangu huu. Tunaweza tukawa na lugha nyingine tofauti na hiki kimalila.*** (Q3.07:141329:202)
>
> 'The Malila language has begun to be confined here. When [children] go [to school away from here] they encounter other languages in the books; it's their studies. In fact they are returning with it back to [Umalila]; therefore, it's possible for us to kill our origins and wind up with another origin, that's just my perspective. We can wind up with another language different from this Malila.'

Wilson is making a controversial point and is careful to avoid using specific language names (i.e. default labels). He starts out talking about 'other languages' children encounter in text books at schools beyond the Malila region, covertly referring to Swahili and English. He then talks about children bringing 'it' back, 'it' being another covert but obvious reference to Swahili. He sums up his grievance with the concern that 'another language', his third covert reference to Swahili, could supplant Malila and result in the loss of Malila origins. Emmanuel eluded to this concern above in (25) but was more optimistic that his daughter would at least retain some Malila if she were to study abroad. Wilson's perspective is more pessimistic but he demonstrates hedging and owns his perspective independently—something I attribute to his candor.

The discourse that Swahili is an 'other' language is tied to its role in formal education. The school system places Swahili into the Malila community and it does this both locally (i.e. when children encounter it in classrooms as the LoI) and remotely (i.e. when children go away for secondary or higher education and re-enter the Malila community as Swahili speakers). Although the labels only occurred in a relatively small amount of interviews, the discourses they represent are strongly supported by the data (i.e. in the context of default labels).

Two other non-default labels for Swahili found in the data were presented in response to interview item 3.11 which was concerned with what parents had heard, seen or read in the media about the LoI debate in Tanzania. Only 7 of 37 households had encountered media reports so I was intentional to divulge

TABLE 5.9: Swahili Non-default Labels: Instructional Benefits

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ya kawaida	'regular/normal language'	1	1
lugha ya kuongelea	'language of conversation'	1	1

the current Education and Training Policy, specifically the proposed change to Swahili for instruction in secondary schools and ask for their thoughts. The two labels in table 5.9 were both used to make the same argument: that secondary school-aged children would perform better if Swahili was used for instruction and English was taught as a subject.

Lazaro explained that if students could interact with teachers in a ***lugha ya kawaida*** 'regular/normal language' then they would have better engagement with the subject matter. In a similar manner, Eric used ***lugha ya kuongelea*** 'language of conversation' to point out how the current system was failing students:

(37) ***Wengine wanaanza form one hadi form four bado hawaelewi habari za lugha. Kwa hiyo wangefundisha kiswahili angeelewa moja kwa moja kwa sababu hicho anajifunza, ataingia na anajifunza lugha ya kuongelea.*** (Q3.11:122417:310)

'Others start in form one and go up to form four but they still don't understand the language. Therefore, if they would teach [in] Swahili [a person] would understand directly because what they're learning, they will go straight in [to class] and they're learning [in] the language of conversation.'

None of the parents I spoke to about the policy change rejected it. They all agreed (or conceded) that because people in secondary education were highly proficient in Swahili, they would learn better in that language. One might assume that the logic of this argumentation would extend to Malila for children in primary school; however, as I show in 5.3.2 this is not always

the case.

TABLE 5.10: Swahili Non-default Labels: Geographical and Social Reach

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ya kujumlisha taifa zima	'language common to the entire nation'	1	1
lugha kubwa	'large language'	1	1

In table 5.10 I give the remaining non-default labels for Swahili found in the data, which idealise Swahili's geographical and social reach. These two aspects of reach—places and people—are difficult to separate as the latter is a metonym for the former but the distinction is useful. Depending on their purposes, parents would highlight one or the other. When location was in focus it supported a discourse of increased mobility for speakers of Swahili. When people were in focus it supported a discourse of increased access (e.g. to information, opportunities and people outside of the Malila community).

I had originally considered the first label, ***lugha ya kujumlisha taifa zima*** as part of the set of labels listed in table 5.7 for unification (and I suspect there is overlap) but the context made it clear that it was used to define Swahili's geographical reach. Raphael used it when explaining how Swahili differed from Malila (3.02):

(38) ***Tofauti yake ni kwa sababu kimalila ni sehemu ndogo tu. Tuseme ni sehemu ndogo, hata katika mkoa ni sehemu ndogo. Lakini sasa kiswahili, tofauti yake, kiswahili ni lugha ya kujumlisha taifa zima.*** (Q3.02:110401:109)

'Its difference is because Malila is [spoken in] just a small area. Let's say it's a small area, even in the province it's small. But now Swahili, its difference, Swahili is the language common to the entire nation.'

Although the label only occurred once, it captured one of the most prevalent discourses about Swahili in the data—that one can go anywhere in the country if they speak it. I will discuss this further in the discussion below on ***lugha ya taifa*** 'language of the nation' and the linking of Swahili to

geographical location and mobility.

The second label, ***lugha kubwa*** 'large language', was used by Lazaro when he described how ubiquitous Swahili has become. Size is used as a metaphor to construe wide-spread usage of Swahili:

(39) ***Kiswahili kinazidi pia, lugha ya kiswahili unaweza ukatumia kwa njia nyingi. Kwenye redio nasikiliza, wanazungumza kiswahili kwenye TV wanaonyesha kiswahili wanazungumza kiswahili; kwa hiyo, ni lugha= ni lugha kubwa ambayo ipo sana hapa Tanzania, kama lugha ya taifa. Inaeleweka kila mtu.*** (Q3.03:110404:129)

'Swahili is also expanding, you can use the Swahili language in many ways. I listen to it on the radio, they speak and show Swahili on TV, they're discussing in Swahili; therefore, it's a language= it's a big language which is everywhere here in Tanzania as the language of the nation. It is understood by every person.'

Through his lexical choices and lack of modality (i.e. there is no hedging as he describes how ubiquitous Swahili has become), Lazaro suppresses difference by obscuring the fact that Tanzanians vary widely in their proficiency as Swahili speakers.

Lugha ya Taifa

The ubiquitous usage of the label ***lugha ya taifa*** 'language of the nation' merits a separate discussion. I argue the label's implicit assumptions about the role of Swahili in Tanzania helps to sustain a powerful form of linguistic hegemony by suppressing difference. I should stipulate that my goal is not to challenge the value Tanzanians place on Swahili but rather to demonstrate the discursive effect this particular way of representing it potentially has on Tanzania's indigenous languages.

As with all other labels, to give some sense of the extent to which the label exists (i.e. figures into participants' social realities), I found it informative to

assess how often participants referred to Swahili as ***lugha ya taifa***. Analysis revealed that 27 parents used it 56 times making it the most frequently used non-default label for any language in the data.[26] Its proliferation has, however, resulted in its abstraction and an expansion of the range of discourses it supports. And as the term becomes more generic, it becomes more powerful. A CDA agenda stresses the importance of revealing widely accepted beliefs about social realities that are taken as given, especially when those beliefs are left as implicit assumptions:

> Assumed meanings are of particular ideological significance—one can argue that relations of power are best served by meanings which are widely taken as given. . . . Seeking hegemony is a matter of seeking to universalize particular meanings in the service of achieving and maintaining dominance, and this is ideological work. (Fairclough 2003, p.58)

To illustrate this, one could take ***lugha ya taifa*** to index 'national language', which, across international and academic contexts, embodies a discourse of legal status within the nation-state. But parents used the label to construe Swahili in far more local, socially-relevant ways. These are ideologically summarised in table 5.11.

TABLE 5.11: Discourses of ***lugha ya taifa***

Ideology	Occ.	Src.
Swahili is a force of unification.	8	6
You can go anywhere in Tanzania with Swahili.	13	8
You can talk to anyone in Tanzania with Swahili.	9	6
Swahili is the language of primary school.	12	10
Tanzanians are supposed to know Swahili.	4	4
no clearly discernable ideology	11	6

There is a great deal of overlap between these discourses and the discourses

[26] Counts ignore multiple uses of the label in the same speech turn but include one occurence of ***lugha moja ya taifa*** 'one language of the nation' and five occurrences of ***lugha ya kitaifa*** 'national language'. See footnote 3 where the similar consideration was applied to ***lugha ya asili*** 'language of origin'.

already revealed through other non-default labels. For example, the use of ***lugha ya taifa*** supports ideologies around unity, instructional benefits and Swahili's geographical and social reach as a language. In addition to those, it was also used to idealise Swahili's status as a nationally established LoI and the expectation parents placed on themselves to know and use it. A brief discussion of each discourse follows.

Swahili is a force of unification. With the prevalence of ***lugha ya taifa*** in parent's responses, it was difficult to isolate examples of other labels where it was not also used in conjunction with them. Three examples above have already demonstrated ways the label supported the construal of Swahili as a force of unification. Refer back to example (28) from Hamisi. Also see Imani's response in (31), which I give further consideration to here. In that example, she made the claim that Swahili is an important language. Her short argument can be considered within Toulmin's argument framework (reproduced in figure 5.3).

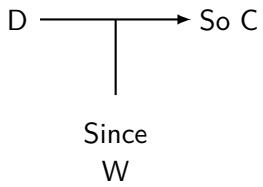

FIGURE 5.3: Toulmin's Model of Argumentation (Toulmin 2003, p.92)

Toulmin (2003) holds that data (D) gives rise to a claim (C) through reasoning provided by a warrant (W). Fairclough points out that identifying Toulmin's elements of an argument in a text could reveal important assumptions and omissions:

> Warrants and Backing for arguments are often specific to particular discourses, and often assumed rather than made explicit (Gieve 2000). Where this is so, one might consider the ideological work that a text is doing, i.e. the work of making contentious, positioned and interested representations a matter of general 'common sense'. From a different point of view, one might see

> arguing on the basis of a contentious and questionable assumption as flawed argument. (Fairclough 2003, p.82)

Imani's short argument is repeated below with a word level gloss line and free translation:

(40) a. ***Kiswahili ni muhimu kwa sababu***
Swahili is important for reason
kinatuunganisha,
it.unites.us,

b. ***maana ni lugha ya taifa.***
meaning it.is language of nation.
'Swahili is important because it unites us, the reason being it's the language of the nation.'

Her claim that 'Swahili is important' is based on the datum 'it's the language of the nation'. I suspect that very few, if any, of the participants would take issue with this argument even if no further reasoning were provided. But Imani makes explicit what others take as a given and she justifies her step from the datum to the claim via the warrant that '[Swahili] unites us' (represented in figure 5.4).

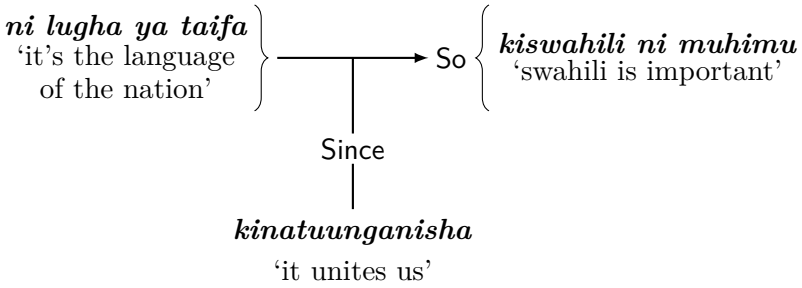

FIGURE 5.4: Imani's Argument in the Toulmin Model

It is not my intent to evaluate the strength of Imani's argumentation here. Whether it is flawed or not is less interesting than her presentation of it as valid and the way it reveals reasoning she holds as non-contentious. I have already argued that Swahili cannot unite a nation as that is the work of people but I also contend that Tanzania is not united to the extent that it is

repeatedly construed as such. What is meant by 'unity' in this discourse? In other discourses (e.g. political, religious, economic) the nation is presented as very divided. Furthermore, I would challenge that where perceptions of national unity exist, they should not be exclusively attributed to Swahili but rather to a complex variety of social factors—this discourse being one of them.

You can go anywhere in Tanzania with Swahili. The three discourses concerning unification, geographical reach and social reach are difficult to isolate as they all depend on one another but I maintain that they should be treated as separate discourses since parents were able to make any one of them more salient than the others. The discourse that indigenous languages only have communicative purpose in specific geographic locations (regions associated with indigenous communities) whereas Swahili serves the whole nation is pervasive. Examples already presented where ***lugha ya taifa*** supports this belief can be seen in responses from Ahadi in (3) and Eric in (13). Raphael, however, gives one of the clearest examples of how mobility in Tanzania is facilitated by Swahili:

(41) ***Kiswahili umuhimu wake ni kwa sababu hii ni lugha ya taifa, ni ya mawasiliano kitaifa. Yaani ukitoka hapa ukaenda Kenya, hadi ukaenda Mara, Mwanza, kule Bukoba utatumia kiswahili. Utamkuta mtu wa Bukoba hajawahi fika huku Mbeya unaongea naye kiswahili mnaelewana tu. Hata ukifika usiku wa manane, unamkuta mnaongea mnaelewana.*** (Q3.01:110401:107)

'Swahili's importance is because this is the language of the nation, it's for national communication. In other words if you leave here and go to Kenya, if go as far as Mara, Mwanza, up there in Bukoba you will use Swahili. You'll meet a person from Bukoba who has never reached Mbeya, you speak with them in Swahili and you both just understand each other. Even if you get there in the middle of the night, you meet them, you converse and understand one another.'

You can talk to anyone in Tanzania with Swahili. This discourse is an important assumption within the discourse of unification but on its own, it idealises the communicative benefits of Swahili. In example (39) above, Lazaro used ***lugha ya taifa*** in a statement that idealise Swahili's social reach. And in response to interview item 2.01 concerning language usage, Richard pointed out that Swahili is not just about who you can go to but also about who can come to you:

(42) ***Hata hapa Ilembo panayo makabila mengi. Wapo wanyakyusa, wandali, wasafwa, watu wa aina wa sehemu mbalimbali wa kutoka mataifa, wa kutoka sehemu mbalimbali. Saa hii lugha ya kita= hii lugha ya kiswahili ndio inayotuunganisha wote.*** (Q2.01:133137:111)

'Even here Ilembo has many tribes. There are Nyakyusa, Ndali, Safwa, people from different places and ethnicities, from different places. Now the language of the nati= this Swahili language is indeed that which brings us all toghether.'

Richard started using the label ***lugha ya kitaifa*** 'national language' but stopped short as if he caught himself using a term I might not understand and clarified it with the default label. I cannot say conclusively that this was the case but I include the example here as evidence for the discourse. In another example, Prosper shows the effect Swahili's social reach has on subordinating Malila:

(43) ***Kiswahili umuhimu wake ni kwa sababu ni lugha ya taifa. Halafu tunaelewana na watu wengi sana ndio maanake kiswahili kinakuwa cha muhimu zaidi kuliko lugha ya kwetu.*** (Q3.01:143151:208)

'Swahili's importance is because it's the language of the nation. Furthermore we can understand so many people and that is indeed the reason Swahili is more important than the language of our region.'

Swahili is the language of primary school. Kassim appeared perplexed when I probed him to explain his rejection of Malila as an LoI. He was adamant that his children get enough Malila at home, even to the point of being detrimental, and that they need greater exposure to Swahili and English so they can perform better on examinations. I asked him to reconsider his answer and set the issue of curriculum aside but he responded again in favour of Swahili:

(44) ***Kiswahili, ukiingia katika nchi yetu hii, kimejengeka kwamba ni lugha ya taifa.*** (Q3.08:124852:260)
'Swahili, when you enter into this our country, it has been established as the language of the nation.'

Kassim was not willing to re-imagine the education system at the level to which I was asking him (i.e. a curriculum that was more accommodating of the Malila language). It was as if the existing curriculum was a given, immutable reality. Furthermore, I sensed admonishment in his response. Recall the synopsis of CDA in 2.2.1 and its interest in the construal of three types of meaning expressed through texts. The matter of style is important here for the way Kassim, through a possessive, positions himself as an insider and me as an outsider who has entered 'into this *our* country' (exclusive possession). He was making me aware of the reality that I had stepped into—a reality where matters of curriculum and languages of instruction had already been decided upon by the insiders (although his choice of passive voice in ***kimejengeka*** 'it has been established' obscures who made the decisions).

Four important semiotic strategies can be identified in Kassim's response. First, it is intertextual for the way it eludes to some other government text or texts that give Swahili its legal status in Tanzania and in schools. Second, the government text is recontextualized into Kassim's text as authorizational legitimation (see p.98 Fairclough 2003) quite subtly by referencing the state with ***nchi yetu*** 'our country'—the territory where the policy applies. Third, the government text is presented through what Short and Leech call a 'narrative report of speech acts' (1981, p.324) which obscures not only its

content but also its creator(s) by avoiding speech introducers and providing only a brief summary of what took place. This strategy of reporting lies on the latter end of a continuum between

> reports which keep a relatively strong and clear boundary between the speech or writing or thought that is reported and the text in which they are reported, and those which do not. (Fairclough 2003, p.49)

This aids in confusing not only the boundary between the two texts but also between the people who established them—the government and Kassim. The obfuscation of authorship is also supported by using the passive voice in ***kimejengeka*** 'it has been established'. Fourth, as it relates to dialogicality, Kassim's statement lacks any kind of orientation to difference which Fairclough describes from Bakhtin's perspective citing Holquist (1981):

> Orientation to difference brings into focus degrees and forms of dialogicality in texts. What I am referring to here is an aspect of Bakhktin's 'dialogical' theory of language: 'a word, discourse, language or culture undergoes "dialogization" when it becomes relativized, de-privileged, aware of competing definitions for the same things. Undialogized language is authoritative or absolute' (Holquist 1981: 427). (Fairclough 2003, p.42)

Kassim could have been more transparent about the policy and included information about who authored it, when it came into force, how well it is or is not working, etc., but he avoided these options. The effect this had in the interview allowed Kassim to take control of the conversation and close down this particular dialogue. It also served as a reminder that for some (e.g. me as a foreign interviewer), the conversation is not available to be opened, especially if they are outsiders. This type of response blurs the boundary between social practices and social structures. For example I address the matter of LoI at the level of social practices, albeit governed by social structures but Kassim and others appear to view LoI only as a matter of social structure. This could shed light on how individuals or even societies recognise political dissent in that disrupting social practices may be less controversial than disrupting social structures. Kassim's response also

raises the question of how CDA practitioners should go about determining what constitutes social practices and structures since it is likely to differ from person to person.

Tanzanians are supposed to know Swahili. In four interviews, the label ***lugha ya taifa*** was used in responses that reflected an obligation parents felt to know Swahili. Joyce brought this out as the main difference between Malila and Swahili:

(45) ***Maana kiswahili ni lugha ya taifa. Kila mtu, kila moja moja aijue hiyo lugha. Kama hujui hiyo lugha, basi, maana kiswahili ni cha kila mtu kukijua na kukifahamu.***
(Q3.02:115413:150)

'Because Swahili is the language of the nation. Every person, every single one should know that language. If you don't know it, tough,[27] because Swahili is for every person to know and understand.'

Joyce adopts a high level of social obligation (deontic modality) when she declared that every person should know Swahili. In her full response she carries on with a contrast to Malila in that there is no obligation on anyone to know it but rather tribes tend to have their own languages.

No discernable ideology. In my analysis, I have included 11 occurrences of ***lugha ya taifa*** from 6 interviews where the phrase was used as if it were a hyponym for Swahili. These occurences were not necessarily ideological. For example when I asked Magreth if there were any languages she wished knew (interview item 2.04), she indicated a desire to know English but lamented at her lack of schooling:

(46) ***Wakati wanaongea na mimi napenda niongee lakini nashindwa. Naishia kimalila na lugha ya taifa, basi.***
(Q2.04:102948:113)

[27] The word ***basi*** here is difficult to translate. Other possible interpretations could be 'oh well', 'that's that', 'too bad for you', etc.

> 'When [people] are speaking [English], I wish I could speak but I can't. I stop at Malila and the language of the nation.'

Magreth and other parents would sometimes refer to Swahili with this label for no apparent reason other than it is simply just the way they index Swahili. This points to the ubiquitous nature of the label and its ability to trespass into the domain of ***Kiswahili***, the language's default label.

5.1.3 Non-default Labels for English

Parents demonstrated less creativity in representing English with non-default labels than they did for Malila or Swahili. Where Malila had 24 and Swahili had 12, English only had 8. I attribute this primarily to the lower presence that English holds in the social world of the interviewees since most of them did not have children in secondary school. Secondarily, the interview itself would have arguably had an impact on this. While the schedule invited parents to talk about any languages they wanted to, I found that the semi-structured nature of the interview influenced me to follow the parents' lead in talking about languages that were most relevant to them. This is reflected in the occurrence counts for the default labels listed in table 5.1. Furthermore, it is difficult to assess how my presence impacted the way parents would choose to construe English. Although I did not tell them what languages I spoke, they were aware from recruitment letters and the interview introduction that I was a Canadian doing research through a university in England. Most were able to make the connection that I knew English whereas others simply took it for granted. I would, however, be more concerned about my influence if the participants spoke only negatively or positively about English but the responses were mixed.

Non-default labels for Malila and Swahili have proven to be productive in identifying salient discourses attached to those languages and the same holds true for English. Parents used non-default labels to attach two popular discourses to English. Those in table 5.12 link English to its *geographical and social reach* and those in 5.13 link it to its *otherness*.

The labels in table 5.12 present English as a language that provides its

speakers with the widest possible access to places and people. As discussed above, in this context the former is a metonym for the latter but parents would make a distinction depending on their discursive intent.

TABLE 5.12: English Non-default Labels: Geographical and Social Reach

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ya kimataifa	'international language'	7	5
lugha ya dunia	'language of the world'	3	2
lugha kubwa	'big language'	2	1
lugha ya kufanya mawasiliano kwa mazingira ninayoenda	'language of communication for wherever I go'	1	1
international language	-	1	1

The most popular non-default label for English was ***lugha ya kimataifa*** 'international language'. It was used mostly to emphasise English's geographical and social reach. Gilbert demonstrates this in his explanation of the importance of English. He uses his perception of the language situation in Zambia as evidence:

(47) ***Huwezi ukaenda Zambia ukaongea kiswahili. Utaongea kiingereza kwa sababu kule hawaongei kiswahili. Utawakuta wanaoongea kiingereza kwa sababu kiingereza ni lugha ya kimataifa. Unaweza kuitumia popote pale unapoendea nje ya nchi au ndani ya nchi.*** (3.01:121311:125)

'You can't go to Zambia and speak Swahili. You'll speak English because there they don't speak Swahili. You'll meet up with people who speak English because English is an international language. You can use it anywhere there whether you're traveling outside of the country.'

Gilbert's style here is very authoritative as there is no modality representing any kind of hedging. He presents four sentences as statements of fact yet

each is highly problematic.

Lazaro did something similar with the next label, ***lugha ya dunia*** 'language of the world', during a conversation we had over reports on the radio about the 2015 LoI policy change. He was stressing the value of teaching Swahili and English but his inclinations were more toward English:

(48) ***Ndio tuzikazie sana maana kiingereza ndio lugha ya dunia zaidi. Hata kwenye intaneti wanaweka kiingereza hicho hicho, nini, kila kona.*** (3.11:110404:217)

'Yes we should emphasise [Swahili and English] because English is more the language of the world. Even on the Internet they're putting that same English, what, in every corner.'

Lazaro had a tone of exasperation/surrender. He was concerned that goods coming into hospitals and local markets were branded, labelled and described in English. He was against the use of Malila in formal education in that it would not help children learn to interact with those items. Lazaro further develops his discourse of English's reach by explaining how it is not static but dynamic in that it is intentionally being placed 'in every corner'. The people who do this are obfuscated into a generic 3rd person subject prefix on the verb ***wanaweka*** 'they're putting'. In this discourse, reach is *reaching into Umalila.* The discursive effect is that English is coming, it is unavoidable and people need to be preparing for it. There are people intentionally facilitating the placement of English into the Malila social world but they are unknown so there is no opportunity for dialogue. It was not clear, however, if Lazaro viewed this arrival of English into Umalila positively or negatively.

Viviana echoed Lazaro's sentiments in her frustration of increasingly not being able to read the labels on locally-sold products. Her husband Richard quickly agreed:

(49) ***Ni hivyo hivyo! Lugha kubwa, Kiingereza kimetawala mazingira mengi, hata katika mawasiliano, hata katika Tanzania hii. Kama unaifahamu hiyo lugha huwezi ukapata shida***

mahali utakapoenda. (133137:143)

'Exactly! The big language, English has ruled over many contexts, even in communication, even here in Tanzania. If you understand that language you can't have difficulties anywhere you go.'

Richard uses the label ***lugha kubwa*** 'big language' in a similar way Lazaro used the label for Swahili in (39) but proceeds to give English agentive properties by making it the subject of a very political action: ***kimetawala*** 'it has ruled'. The verb ***-tawala*** 'rule/govern/reign/administer' is more commonly used to index administrative hierarchies, leadership in government and organisational structures. The real agents (those who passively or actively promote English) are obscured through this strategy, which, as was seen in Lazaro's response in (48), is an effective way of presenting the matter as unavailable for dialogue.

When Emmanuel explained his reasons for wanting to learn English, he stressed the access it would give him to people and places and created his own non-default label:

(50) ***Ninachokipendea kiingereza ni kwamba ninachotaka ni mawasiliano na watu wa namna zote, cha kwanza. Lakini pili, inaweza ikanipa fursa ya kwenda mahala kokote, nikiwa najiamini kwamba nina lugha ya kufanya mawasiliano kwa mazingira ninayoenda.*** (2.04:112354:160)

'First, what I like about English is that what I am wanting is communication with people of every kind. But second, it is able to give me opportunity to go to any place at all believing in myself that I have a language of communication for wherever I go.'

Emmanuel's robust label, ***lugha ya kufanya mawasiliano kwa mazingira ninayoenda*** 'language of communication for wherever I go' captures his construal of the unlimited access to people and places that English affords those who know it.

Gilbert, Lazaro, Richard and Emmanuel all used hyperbolic statements

in adverbial clause constituents to highly idealise English's geographical and social reach. Gilbert used the adverb ***popote*** 'anywhere'; Lazaro used the adverbial phrase ***kila kona*** 'every corner'; Richard used the adverbial clause ***mahali utakapoenda*** '[any] place where you go'; and Emmanuel used two adverbial phrases: ***na watu wa namna zote*** 'with people of every kind', ***mahala kokote*** 'any place at all' and one adverbial clause, ***kwa mazingira ninayoenda*** 'for wherever I go'. While I cannot determine the degree to which these hyperbolic statements are taken figuratively versus literally, they point to a belief in English's unprecedented and ever-expanding reach.

Explaining how he uses Malila, Swahili and English, Gilbert described English as an ***international language***, the final label in table 5.12. He first explained that he uses Malila in Umalila with other Malila speakers. He then added how he needs Swahili for people he encounters from outside of the Malila language community but with the caveat that Swahili is limited beyond Tanzania. He concluded with the following:

(51) ***Kiingereza ni international language ambayo ukikutana na Mzambia una haki ya kutumia. Au Mkenya. Huwezi ukatumia kiswahili ukiwa Zambia*** (2.01:121311:108)

'English is an international language which if you meet up with a Zambian you have the right to use it. Or a Kenyan. You can't use Swahili while you're in Zambia.'

It is unclear as to why Gilbert used an English label and what, if any, discursive effect resulted. The label is most likely a direct translation of the more common label discussed previously, ***lugha ya kimataifa*** 'international language'. What is clear, however, is the discourse that continues to emerge where Malila, Swahili, and English are repeatedly construed as languages that serve peoples' communicative goals respective to a geo-social hierarchy. Malila is located in Umalila, a small part of the greater whole of Tanzania. Swahili is primarily located in Tanzania with some exceptions for neighbouring states. English is presented as a language spoken by the world that lies beyond Tanzania. This discourse is an important one to understand as it relates to the kinds of capabilities that parents value for themselves and their children

as well as how those capabilities intersect with languages. This will be discussed further in chapter 6.

In five interviews, parents presented English as a language to which they had no personal connection. This discourse of otherness puts distance between those who presented it and the English language. Three labels that accomplish this are given in table 5.13.

TABLE 5.13: English Non-default Labels: Otherness

Label	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
lugha ngeni	'foreign language'	4	3
lugha ya kwenu/kwako	'language of your home'	2	1
lugha ya taifa fulani	'language of a particular nation'	1	1

Jackson and his wife Zahra expressed deep frustration with the practice of instructing secondary school students in English. They blamed it not only for their daughter's failure but for all children from the Malila community who were unable to complete secondary school. In doing so, Jackson distanced himself from English by using the label ***lugha ngeni*** 'foreign language' just as he did with Swahili in example (34):

(52) ***Lakini sasa anatoka hapa anafaulu vizuri anaenda shuleni sekondari hakuna alivyoandika, yaani anakuwa ni bubu kwa sababu amekutana na lugha ngeni amekimbia. Naye anasema hivi, 'Hii shule imenishinda! Mbona sielewi?'***
(3.11:134138:365)

'But now she leaves here successfully and goes to secondary school and there's nothing she could write, in other words she became mute[28] becuase she encountered a foreign language and ran away. She was saying, "This school has defeated me! Why don't I understand?"'

[28] ***Bubu*** 'mute' is the Swahili word for a person who cannot speak; however, here it is used figuratively for writing. This is a strong metaphor as it presents his daughter as having a disability.

In (52), Jackson construes his daughter as a successful primary school student who then encounters a foreign language in secondary school that hinders her ability to communicate, thus, turning her into an educational refugee. Jackson creates an 'ideological square' (see van Dijk 1998, p.267) through structural opposition between his daughter (presented positively), who serves as a type for all Malila children, and English (presented negatively), a foreign language unforgivingly imposing itself upon children when they enter secondary school. (See the discussion of ideological squaring related to figure 3.3.) Important information is being suppressed here that obscures a struggle between two groups of people with different ideologies: those who oppose English instruction in secondary school and those who uphold the policies which keep it in place. Jackson's strategy, however, substitutes the English language for the latter, thus, making it the object of his frustration. And he is not alone. Other parents did the same as can be seen from Eric in (37); Boniface in (65) and (76); and Greyson in (77). Two other households blamed English for their own and their children's failure in secondary school. I further argue that this ideological squaring supports an either-or conceptualisation of language-in-education that impedes dialogue around other curricular options for teaching English more effectively—a capability that all of the interviewees valued including Jackson's wife Zahra as evidenced in example (68) below.

During my interview with Prosper, he referred to English as ***lugha ya kwenu*** 'language of your (pl.) home' and ***lugha ya kwako*** 'language of your home'. These constructions have already been seen and discussed above in table 5.3 as they relate to Malila. In these examples, however, I as the interviewer was the antecedent of both locative possessive pronouns. This was another strategy that foregrounded English's (and my own) otherness.

(53) ***Nafuu kama wewe tunaongea kiswahili. Tunaelewana. Sawa? Sasa lugha ya kwako ukianza kuzungumza sitaelewa. Labda ukinisalimia tu basi, 'Good morning,' ((laughter)) naweza nikajibu!*** (2.04:160627:204)

'It's better if like you, we are speaking Swahili. We understand one another. Okay? But if you start speaking the language of your home, I won't understand. Maybe if you only just greet me, "Good morning," ((*laughter*)) I can then answer!'

It is not obvious what Prosper was seeking to accomplish by referring to English in this way or if there was any ideological motivation behind it. I only include the example here for the way it made me feel and it is possible that it impacted me more than Prosper intended. Despite the unprecedented hospitality shown towards me while I stayed in the Malila region, I could not help but feel at times like a distant outsider. When Prosper referred to English as 'my language', it made for a very strong disassociation between him and English. And while it in no way reflected his desire to learn and use English, it positioned him as someone having to wrestle with the realities of *my* language in *his* education system—a struggle that I in no way can relate to.

The last non-default label linking English to a discourse of otherness came from Kassim after I asked for his opinions on the 2015 policy change to use Swahili for instruction in secondary school. He was very supportive of its implementation, citing France and other countries that invest in their own languages and their success as nations in doing so. He lamented that if Malila and Swahili are not the focus of education in Tanzania, other languages will step into that void. He concluded his 'manifesto' with the following:

(54) ***Unajua kiingereza ni lugha ya taifa fulani lakini ilikuja kwa sababu ya masuala fulani ya nyuma ambayo kihistoria yapo.*** (3.11:124852:300)

'You know English is the language of a particular nation but it came about because of some background issues that historically exist.'

Kassim delicately handled the colonial legacy that imposed English on his children's education and it is possible his answer could have been less delicate had I not been the one asking the question. His label for English, ***lugha ya taifa fulani*** is difficult to translate. The adjective ***fulani*** which modifies ***taifa*** 'country' or 'nation', could be translated as 'particular', 'certain', 'unnamed' or 'some'. For example, instead of translating it as 'language of a particular nation' it could be translated as 'language of some other country'—the latter being more negative than the former. Connotational meaning aside, the label puts considerable distance between Kassim and

English.

Labels that link English to a discourse of otherness have the discursive effect of creating distance between those who use the labels and the English language. This distance then becomes the basis for calling into question the level of commitment people should be expected to have towards it. Parents who used this strategy were among those who were the most strongly opposed to English instruction in the classroom.

Summary

Through systematic analysis of all the non-default labels that index Malila, Swahili and English, this section has identified key discourses attached to those languages. They reveal important ways in which Malila, Swahili and English are both construed and conceptualised. I would argue that this is foundational to a study on LoI preferences for the way it more precisely establishes what it is that parents are supporting and rejecting. There are two important things to note at this juncture. First, each of the discourses identified above link languages to specific capabilities or rather, unique ways of being and doing. Second, a number of parallels emerge with respect to **INSTRUMENTAL** and **INTEGRATIVE** discourses identified from parents in the literature. Both of these are discussed in the next chapter.

5.2 Construals of Language Learning: Motivations and Processes

With a discursive understanding of what Malila, Swahili and English mean to the parents in this study, this section looks at discursive practices as they relate to why those languages are sought and how they are obtained. As such, the section not only addresses research question 2 but taken with the previous section, works more pointedly toward the research aim of understanding what beliefs give rise to support and rejection of specific LoIs. Also, because parents' stated motivations to know specific languages and their beliefs about how to obtain them figure importantly into their own language planning and

maintenance, consideration is given to how the discourses presented in this section bear on FLP (see section 2.2.2), which is presented and discussed in section 6.2 in the next chapter.

5.2.1 Language Learning Motivations in Discourse: Why Malila, Swahili and English?

Malila: Identity and Home Integration

For all of the households interviewed, parents reported teaching Malila to their children by using it as the primary language for communication at home. Only one household, reported using a 'one parent–one language (OPOL) approach' (see King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008, p.914) where the father spoke Swahili and the mother spoke Malila with their children. Since all households interviewed reported teaching Malila to their children, I induce that passing on Malila to the next generation is an important and well-established FLP for all of the parents interviewed.

Reasons for passing on Malila to children can be linked to discourses that relate to i.) identity, and ii.) stronger integration for children at home and in the Malila community. In example (2), Charles captured both of these when he talked about his reasons for wanting his children to know Malila. Conversely, Oscar expressed concern in (17) that too many children are losing their Malila identity. The idea that children should not lose the connection to their linguistic origins or their 'roots', is pervasive. Also, the ability to leave Umalila but return and be able to reconnect linguistically with family is repeated often as an important, valued capability. For some, not being able to do so is equated with abandoning one's roots in order to imitate others. Committing to use Malila while in the Malila region with other members of the Malila community can be induced as another well-established FLP for all of the households interviewed. I probed Aron as to what would happen if he used Swahili with a group of Malila speakers, who could competently communicate in Swahili. He responded:

(55) ***Naendelea na kimalila kufuatana kwamba ndio utamaduni***

wetu hapa. Hatuwezi tukavunja utamaduni wetu. Tukivunja utamaduni wetu tutakuwa kama tumetumia upumbavu fulani, kuiga ya wengine. 3.01:114640:111

'I continue using Malila following that it is our culture here. We can't break our culture. If we break our culture it'll be as if we've used some kind of stupidity, imitating [the things] of others.'

This is another good example of argumentation with claims based on ideological assumptions that have made their way into the space of common sense for many Malila parents (see the discussion about argumentation following from figure 5.3). Aron makes two claims here. The first is that when Malila community members do not speak Malila with one another they are breaking Malila culture. The second is that a person who does so is imitating (i.e. seeking to take on the identity of) others. Both of these claims are highly contentious but they reveal the pivotal role ascribed to the Malila language in maintaining Malila culture and identity.

Further to the matter of identity, parents presented themselves first as Malila and second, or flowing from that, as Tanzanian. Consider Gilbert's response to the same probing question I asked Aron:

(56) ***Kwa sababu katika Tanzania hii kuna makabila mengi na kila kabila ina lugha yake. Ndio maana tunatumia kimalila sisi kama wamalila, mnyakyusa naye kama mnyakyusa.*** 3.01:121311:127

'Because in this [country of] Tanzania there many tribes and every tribe has its own language. That is the reason we use the Malila language as Malila people, and [the same] for a Nyakyusa person if they are Nyakyusa.'

That a Malila identity precedes a Tanzanian one was also captured by Kassim during a dialogue that ensued around how his children might use Malila, English and Swahili in the future:

(57) ***Kiswahili ni kitu cha umuhimu kati ya lugha hizi tatu lakini***

> ***kama ningechagua, ningeona kwamba huyu mwanangu ajue kabisa kwamba alitoka katika kabila lipi. Kumbe, ajue na kimalila, asili ya huku!*** (3.07:124852:244)
>
> 'Swahili is an important thing among these three languages but If I could choose, then I would ensure that this child of mine knows completely what tribe she comes from. Seriously, she really should know Malila, the origins of this place!'

Kassim's hedging, however, through the use of conditional tenses (e.g. if... then) demonstrates his acceptance that his daughter will ultimately plan her language use independently from him. This recognition that children eventually become agents of their own language planning was also demonstrated above in examples (5) and (6).

Further related to home and community integration, parents demonstrated the importance of passing on Malila to their children so that they can always communicate with family members and especially the elderly who lack proficiency in languages other than Malila. These elderly were typically referred to as ***mabibi*** 'grandmothers', ***mababu*** 'grandfathers', or ***wazee*** 'elders' but some parents, like Leyla, indicated that it also included their future, elderly selves. She explains that one day her children may need to communicate with her in a similar fashion as they do with their grandmother:

(58) ***Itafuatana na wenyewe, yaani kwamba, hasa hasa wamejifunza lugha gani. Kama watajifunza= kuendelea na kiingereza ni wao wenyewe. Lakini kwa kuwa mimi nitakuwa sijiwezi pengine hata kiswahili nimesahau, itabidi wanichukulie kama mama yetu amezeeka.*** (3.07:114120:130)

> 'It'll come from them, in other words, especially [considering] which languages they've learned. If they learn English= to carry on with English is going to be up to them. But because I won't be able [to speak English] and it's possible that I'll even forget Swahili, they'll have to treat me the same way they treat their grandmother.'[29]

[29] Leyla referred to her children's grandmother as 'our elderly mother'.

In saying ***itabidi wanichukulie kama mama yetu amezeeka*** 'they'll have to treat me the same way they treat their grandmother', Leyla was referring to the language her children would have to use with her—the same one they currently use with their grandmother who can only communicate in Malila. This is a construal of a future time where parents interact with their children who have become competent in Swahili and English. Implicit in this is that children have become educated and left the Malila region—conditions that are arguably essential for acquiring English and somewhat necessary for acquiring Swahili. Furthermore, in this future time, Leyla construes herself as someone who has remained in the Malila region, primarily speaking Malila and having lost her proficiency in Swahili.

Emmanuel further demonstrates the importance of Malila in the social practice of communicating with the elderly within the community. He wanted to see Malila used in the classroom and was explaining the importance of keeping the language strong for his children:

(59) ***Ina umuhimu hasa unapokutana na wale vikongwe, wazee. Aidha ni majirani, ni ndugu yako, sio ndugu yako. Hasa ukiongea lugha tofauti sana itaonekana wewe ni mtu wa juu ama unajisikia kama wewe ni wa juu unamdharau yeye. Kumbe, huna nia mbaya!*** (3.08:112354:227)

'It's important especially when you meet up with the aged, the elderly. Either it's [your] neighbour, your relative [or] not your relative. The point is if you speak a different language it will very much appear as if you're higher than them or that you feel you're higher than them and so you despise them when, to the contrary, you had no ill will!'

Emmanuel's use of the verb ***kudharau*** 'to despise' is a strong lexical choice but is representative of other strong choices like Godfrey's use of ***kutukana*** 'to insult' when describing the same situation. Choices like this help to construe the practice of not speaking Malila with elders as a serious cultural transgression. I have personally encountered people in Tanzania who left rural language communities, moved to urban centres (where Swahili is the dominant language), married people from other indigenous communities,

had children and raised them in Swahili. They experience social stress when visiting their parents' homes in the communities where they were raised because they and/or their children lack proficiency in the languages and cultures of their parents. This is reminiscent of Bourdieu's cultural capital (1986) but somehow turns the concept on its head for the way this particular capital moves people back into their origins/identities versus out into opportunities.

Swahili: Communication, National Identity and Educational Mobility

All of the households interviewed reported a strong desire for their children to know Swahili. Responses can be grouped into three discourses where Swahili is important for: i.) communicating with poeple outside of the Malila community; ii.) participating in a wider, Tanzanian, national collective; and iii.) being able to attend and succeed in school.

As a language for communicating with outsiders, numerous examples have been presented above that adequately capture the discourse of Swahili's social reach and the mobility it affords those who speak it (e.g. (3), (13), (39), (38), (41), (42), (43)).

Swahili is also presented as a language that allows people to set aside their ethnic backgrounds and participate in a wider, Tanzanian, national collective (e.g. (28), (30), (31), (32), (33), and (42)). The unifying properties ascribed to Swahili have been discussed above in conjunction with a set of non-default labels which capture that function. These are listed in table 5.7. Godfrey takes this unifiying discourse further by revealing that people are able to conceal their indigenous ethnicity through Swahili and take up position in a wider Tanzanian, Swahili-speaking identity:

(60) ***Kiswahili ni cha muhimu kwa sababu naweza nikatoka hapa, labda ningeenda nje ya umalila hapa au nje ya mbeya kabisa. Sasa nikienda huko nikiongea kimalila hakuna wa kunielewa mpaka niwe nikiongea kiswahili tutaelewana tu. Na pengine tunaweza tukawa tunaongea hicho kiswahili, tunaweza labda***

> ***tukakaa kwa muda mrefu tu, wao wasijue kwamba mimi ni mmalila na mimi nisijue kwamba wao ni kabila gani. Ilimradi kiswahili tunaelewana, tunaongea tu.***
> (3.01:131424:182)
>
> 'Swahili is important because I can leave here, maybe I'd go outside of Umalila or even completely out of Mbeya [province]. Now if I go there speaking Malila there's no one who can understand me but if I speak in Swahili we'll just understand one another. And sometimes we can be speaking Swahili, maybe we can even sit for a long time but they don't know I'm Malila and I don't know their tribe. So as long as we speak Swahili, we'll understand one another and we'll just talk.'

The two discourses just mentioned—that Swahili is important for communicating with others and that it facilitates a Tanzanian identity—are closely connected to the same function of social integration beyond Umalila. These discourses not only idealise Swahili but further result in a classification scheme that has become potentially harmful to Malila. Fairclough points out that

> classification and categorization shape how people think and act as social agents. Equivalence and difference are in part textual relations, and it is fruitful to 'operationalize' this rather abstract theoretical point in text analysis, looking at how entities of various sorts (people, objects, organizations, and so forth) are differentiated in texts, and how differences between them are collapsed by 'texturing' relations of equivalence between them. (Fairclough 2003, p.88)

Rashid, unknowingly demonstrates how idealising Swahili as a vessel of Tanzanian communication and identity in this way bears negatively on Malila and its status, especially its prestige:

(61) ***Kiswahili kimeenea zaidi, kimalila kimefungwa eneo fulani tu. Kimefungwa cha kabila moja.*** (3.02:122325:111)

'Swahili is more widespread, Malila is confined to just one location.

It is confined to one tribe.'

A view that *Malila* is confined is metaphorically a view that *people* who speak Malila are confined. Substituting language for people in this way detaches the two concepts from one another allowing languages, vis-á-vis people, to be categorised in different ways and objectified for different purposes. This discourse produces two categories: speaking Swahili is a matter of national integration whereas speaking Malila is a matter of ethnic isolation. This is supported by examples similar to (68) where Zahra presented a discourse of isolation for those who only speak Malila.

Lastly, Swahili's designation as the language of primary school in discourse is part of the Malila community's social structure. The structure is long-standing and was established before most of the parents interviewed were born. There are no English-medium primary schools in the region and indigenous languages are proscribed by national policy in formal education. Children's success in acquiring Swahili then, is absolutely essential for them to succeed in primary school. As a social structure, it has stability so that when I pressed parents to consider the benefits of Malila as an LoI, many responded with the question, 'Then how would they read or answer exam questions?' Magreth indicated that having Malila as an LoI in early primary school would result in students understanding the content but not being able to write it down in an examination:

(62) ***Watoto wakienda na kimalila, hata kwenye mitihani hawezi akajaza kinachoeleweka; mwalimu atakachofundisha kimalila.*** (3.01:102948:117)

'If children go with Malila, even what they understand can't be written on an exam; what the teacher will teach in Malila.'

The interview sessions did not allow for explanations of how curriculum and assessment could accommodate Malila nor was it within the scope of this research to do so. Nonetheless, these responses are valuable as they show the difficulty parents have in conceptualising the implementation of a curriculum with Malila as LoI against the background of the current social structures.

English: Geographical, Social, Economic and Educational Mobility, Security

Responses from parents that highlight important reasons for their children to know English were expressed through discourses that demonstrate a value for i.) interacting with people from outside of Tanzania; ii.) accessing economic opportunities; iii.) succeeding on exams in secondary school; and iv.) personal security.

English was presented consistently by parents as a language that would allow their children to move about and interact with people from outside of Tanzania. This was demonstrated above through discursive practices that utilised all of the non-default labels for English discussed in table 5.12. I only highlight here example (48) from that discussion where English's reach was even extended into the virtual, on-line world. The perception that English provides such wide social reach and access is a benefit that parents value deeply for their children and one that should not be ignored. Based on the pervasiveness of this discourse, I argue that it is the strongest motivation driving parents to seek out any opportunity they can for their children to learn English.

English was also presented by parents as a language that provides its speakers with increased access to economic opportunities. It would seem obvious that economic mobility connected to English is the result of the geographical and social mobility just described but further research would need to confirm this. Care should be taken, however, not to reduce parents' integrative objectives into instrumental ones. Below, I give examples (63)–(68) and discuss the discursive strategy afterwards.

Emmanuel states that if his children could learn English and other international languages, then they would have greater opportunities later on in their lives. However, he is frustrated because he lacks the financial resources to send his children to a school where they could learn such languages:

(63) ***Ni kwamba unakuta unashindwa kumudu labda zile gharama zilizopo eneo hilo. Tunatamani kwamba wangefahamu lugha nyingi, hasa za kimataifa. Ili wanapoendelea kusoma, waki-***

fikia kipindi chao, labda inamruhusu= aidha ni biashara, imruhusu kwenda mataifa yote anayotaka yeye kwa nia ya kazi ama biashara. Hapo ingesaidia. Lakini shida ni kipato. (Q3.07:112354:215)

'[The problem] is you find maybe you can't afford the costs associated with [those schools]. We long that [our children] would understand many languages, especially international ones so that when they continue to study, when they arrive at their moment, maybe it will permit them= furthermore it's business, it should permit them to go to whatever countries they want be it for work or business. That would help. But the problem is [my] income.'

Like Emmanuel, Eric wants his children to know English, French and other languages as he too asserts it would provide them with greater access to business opportunities and foreign markets:

(64) ***Tungependa wajue kuongea kiingereza, Kifaransa, na lugha zingine ambazo zinaweza kuunganisha na mataifa mengine mbalimbali ... Faida za kuunganisha mataifa unaweza ukawa na biashara, ukatafuta soko mwenyewe kwa kujua lugha.*** (Q2.04:122417:234)

'We would like for [our children] to speak English, French, and other languages that are able to connect with various other countries ... The advantage of connecting with countries is that you can do business and you can find markets yourself by knowing the language.'

Boniface construes English as the language of schooling and therefore, mandatory for getting to the next level and being able to move outward and onward from one's home:

(65) ***Kama unasoma, masomo mengi huwa yanakuja kwa kiingereza. Mpaka ukifuatilie ndio unaweza kufaulu na kwenda ngazi nyingine. Bila hicho umefeli unakaa nyumbani tu.*** (Q3.01:140842:171)

'If you're studying, many subjects typically come in English. Until you grasp it, you can indeed succeed and go to the next level. Without it you've failed and you're just staying at home.'

Aron talks about the importance of English in crossing over both geo-political and socio-economic boundaries:

(66) ***Kiingereza najua ni lugha ambayo ni ya kutafutia hela ... ambayo ni lugha ukienda kwenye nchi za wenzetu ndio umevuka mpaka unaweza ukaongea.*** (Q2.04:114640:105)

'English I know is a money-seeking language ... a language which if you go to the countries of our friends you have indeed crossed over a boundary and you are then able to talk.'

Fredy presents English as the means for his daughter to be independent and self-employed:

(67) ***Ajifunze kiingereza maana akijifunza kiingereza ni rahisi sana hata kujiajili yeye mwenyewe.*** (Q3.09:134404:160)

'She should learn English because if she learns English it's very easy even to independently employ herself.'

Zahra takes issue with the local school system's failure to produce children who can speak English effectively. She underscores the importance of English for moving beyond life in Umalila and accessing opportunities elsewhere—opportunities that she feels people in the larger, nearby urban centre of Mbeya have:

(68) ***Ndicho kinachosaidia ukienda ugenini ... Sasa kimalila kitanipeleka wapi? ... Sisi tunalilia kilicho na faida kwa wageni wenzetu ... sasa nikienda huko nitapotea hivi hivi sijui kitu. Nakutana na wewe hunielewi. Ndivyo ilivyo ndivyo shule zetu zilivyojengwa. Tunalilia kiingereza tunashindwa ... kimalila huendi kokote!*** (3.08:134138:248)

> '[English] is what helps when you are in a foreign place ... Now where would Malila get me? ... We are crying for what has been profitable for our friends [in Mbeya] ... now if I go [abroad] I'll just get lost because I don't know a thing. I'd meet up with you and you couldn't understand me. That's the way our schools have been built. We cry out for English but we're defeated ... [with] Malila you don't go anywhere!'

This discourse of access is consistently construed through a semiotic strategy that deploys conditionals. The relevant data from the above examples are extracted and summarised in table 5.14.

The statements above set up a condition where someone knows or learns English and then presents a consequence where capabilities have been expanded. Conversely, tragic consequences are presented as the outcome of not knowing English. In some instances the result, be it positive or negative, is reinforced through hyperbole. For example, in (63), Emmanuel states that his children could work in whatever country they want if they know English and in (67), Fredy highlights the ease with which his daughter could be self-employed. But in (68), Zahra construes a bleak picture of not being able to go anywhere, being lost, misunderstood and defeated. All of these are very overstated consequences of either knowing or not knowing English. This 'if ... then' formula obscures the possibility that learning English is not a guarantee of access but rather supports the idea's existence in social reality as a social law or principle.

Lastly, two further motivations connected to learning English are related to social structures and personal security. First, in the same way parents viewed Swahili as necessary for their children's primary school assessment, some parents were already looking ahead to secondary school where the language of instruction and assessment would shift to English. And second, English was also presented by parents as a language that provided a level of personal security as an increasing amount of products, especially in the areas of technology and health care, are coming into the Malila community with English labelling, warnings and/or product manuals. Raphael describes his frustration using cell phones:

TABLE 5.14: Conditionals Linking English to Success

Example	Condition	Consequence
(63)	***wangefahamu lugha nyingi***	***imruhusu kwenda mataifa yote anayotaka yeye***
	'if they would understand other languages'	'it would allow him to go to any country he wanted'
(64)	***wajue kuongea kiingereza***	***unaweza ukawa na biashara***
	'we'd like that they know English'	'you're able to have/do business'
(65)	***mpaka ukifuatilie [kiingereza]***	***unaweza kufaulu na kwenda ngazi nyingine***
	'until you learn [English]'	'you can succeed and go to the next level'
	bila hicho	***umefeli unakaa nyumbani tu***
	'without [English]'	'you've failed [and] you're just staying home'
(66)	***lugha ukienda kwenye nchi za wenzetu***	***unaweza ukaongea***
	'a language that if you go to countries of our friends'	'you are then able to talk'
(67)	***akijifunza kiingereza***	***ni rahisi sana hata kujiajili***
	'if she learns English'	'it's very easy even to employ herself'
(68)	***nikienda huko***	***nitapotea***
	'if I go there'	'I'll get lost'

(69) ***Utakuta lugha yake sehemu kubwa ni Kiingereza. Sasa unapoenda kuifunua, wewe unatumia Kiswahili lakini kilichoandikwa mle ni Kiingereza. Halafu sasa tatizo ukija ukigeuza kwamba utumie Kiswahili ndio inakuwa lugha ngumu!***

> ***((laughter))*** (Q2.04:110401:105)
>
> 'You find for the most part the language [of cell phones] is English. Now when you go to figure it out, you're using Swahili but everything written in there is English. And then now the problem is you come to change it to Swahili [which then] becomes a difficult language! ((laughter))'

Raphael complains that he cannot understand the English menus in his phone but when he changes them to Swahili, he finds it just as difficult. And I am sympathetic since the Swahili menus can be awkward translations of English and/or use highly technical, recently developed vocabulary that is not widely known.

5.2.2 Language Learning Processes in Discourse

In considering how parents plan for their children's language learning, I chose to pay greater attention to strategies for presenting their own language learning experiences rather than their children's for two reasons. First responses to interview item 3.04 as it pertained to how children learned Malila tended to be very similar across interviews with parents electing to say things that either resembled, 'It's the language we taught them,' or 'It's the language we speak in the home,' with no further elaboration. In contrast, responses to item 3.03 as it pertained to how parents learned Malila were more varied, more detailed and therefore, more interesting from a CDA perspective. Second, I take from FLP theory[30] that the kind of knowledge about language learning parents would draw from when planning for their children would be grounded more in shared personal experiences (Curdt-Christiansen 2018) rather than say formal, external sources and information channels to which Malila community members would have very limited access.

[30] See section 2.2.2.

Learning Malila

Examples (4) and (18) point to a common way of thinking among the interviewees as it relates to how they learned Malila. They often construed it as a language that does not have to be taught but rather one that just emerges on its own. When asked, how they learned it, some parents were perplexed by the question as if the knowledge that people from the Malila community speak the Malila language were a self-evident proposition. Most responded with one or a combination of four verbs to describe it as a language that they i.) were 'born with' or 'born into'; ii.) 'encountered' themselves and/or their parents using; iii.) 'inherited' from their parents; or iv.) were 'raised in'. I present these verbs in their infinitive forms in table 5.15.

TABLE 5.15: Process Verbs for Learning Malila

Process	English Translation	Occ.	Src.
kuzaliwa	'to be born'	35	18
kukuta	'to encounter'	19	14
kurithi	'to inherit'	2	2
kukulia	'to be raised in'	2	2

Surprisingly, very few parents used the word ***kujifunza*** 'to learn' when talking about their acquisition of Malila. If they did, it was used in conjunction with one of the verbs in table 5.15.

Compare the following two responses to interview item 3.03 where Godwin (70) and Emmanuel (71) present two very different construals of the way in which they learned Malila:

(70) ***Maana wazazi wakati nakua walikuwa wanazungumza kimalila. Wanakuita, kimalila. Na kutuma, kimalila.***
(3.03:122417:192)
'Because when I was growing up [my parents] were speaking Malila. [When] calling me, Malila. And to send [me], Malila.'

(71) ***Kwa sababu kwanza imekuwa ni lugha ambayo ndiyo nime-***

> ***zaliwa nayo. Ni lugha ambayo nimeikuta wazazi wanaongea kwa asili hiyo. Kwa maana ya kwamba ni lugha za kabila letu, Wamalila.*** (3.03:112354:172)
>
> 'Because it is the language that I was born with. It's the language which I encountered my parents speaking in that indigenous way. Because it's the language of our tribe, the Malila people.'

Fairclough distinguishes three levels of abstraction people utilise when representing social events:

> Most concrete: representation of specific social events
> More abstract/generalized: abstraction over series and sets of social events
> Most abstract: representation at the level of social practices or social structures (2003, p.138).

In (70), Godwin describes learning Malila in more concrete and specific terms. He draws on his personal experience of being summoned and sent by his parents in the Malila language. There is some generalisation across events as he does not describe a specific summoning or sending but rather all of the times he was summoned or sent. Emmanuel, on the other hand, in (71) does not refer to any specific events but talks about the social practices and structures he was 'born with' or 'encountered'. His last statement, that Malila is 'the language of our tribe', is completely disconnected from any specific events where Emmanuel learned Malila.

Godwin's response is one of only three in all of the data that I could locate towards the 'concrete' end of Fairclough's abstraction continuum. Emmanuel's response is far more representative of how people explained the manner in which they learned Malila. The most common response was simply, 'I was born with it,' or 'I was born here [in the Malila region].' These responses obscure not only the process of teaching and learning Malila but that Malila is even taught or learned at all. Two parents from separate households, Aron and Zahra, took this view the furthest by explaining that God is the one who enables children to speak Malila.

For some parents, embracing the discourse that children acquire Malila

somewhat automatically in the home, disqualifies it as a language that has any reason to be used in school. Junior, who possessed the highest level of education among the interviewees, delicately explained the issue to me when I challenged him on disallowing Malila in the classroom:

(72) ***Shida moja ambayo sasa inaweza ikawepo kwa changamoto ya kwamba labda kimalila kiwepo katika ufundishaji, shida moja inayoweza kujitokeza ni kwamba ile lugha haina haja ya mtoto kujifunza. Tayari mtoto amezaliwa, amekulia katika lugha hiyo hiyo mpaka anakuja darasani, mpaka anakuja anaingia darasani tayari, hiyo lugha, anayo.***
(3.08:142405:179)

'One issue that can arise as a challenge that maybe Malila should be used for teaching, one problem that can come up is that a child has no need to learn [Malila]. Already a child is born and raised in that very language right up until they come to school, up until they come and enter into the classroom and they already have that language.'

Junior is far from alone in holding to this reasoning and it reveals a very problematic belief parents hold about the role of LoI in formal education. By conflating LoI with language teaching, opportunities are lost to effectively teach valuable language skills in the mother tongue, which are not only easier to teach and learn in a familiar language but are also transferable (i.e. more available) to other languages.

The view that children do not need to be instructed in Malila because 'they already know it' was a perspective that came up in the literature review as part of a discourse of IMMERSION. Parents in Kenya (see Graham 2010; Muthwii 2004) and South Africa (see Nomlomo 2006) shared the belief that mother tongue instruction was superfluous with respect to the language learning goals they attach to LoIs.

Learning Swahili

All of the parents who attended school reported learning Swahili when they were in primary school. For the three interviewees who did not attend primary school, they reported a more informal process of learning Swahili from other people. Stanislaus described his experience as ***nilikuwa nadakia*** 'I was picking it up' from friends. Samson explained that as schools were built during his childhood, Swahili became more prevalent in the community so he also was able to learn it from friends:

(73) ***Kiswahili kimekuja wakati wameleta mashule. Tunaposikia wenzetu wanapozungumza tunajifunza humo humo mpaka tunajua angalau kidogo tu.*** (3.03:124632:209)

'Swahili came when they brought schools. When we heard our friends conversing we were learning it right there until we knew at least a little bit.'

Samson and Stanislaus appeared to lack confidence in their Swahili and further research could shed light on the relationship between the confidence people have in their Swahili and their level of education. As for the third person who did not attend primary school, I refrained from asking the question because she clearly struggled to communicate in Swahili.

Lazaro was the only educated parent (he had reached form four) who explained that there are ***njia nyingi sana*** 'very many ways' to learn Swahili. He gives primacy to the school system but describes the availability of Swahili via radio and television as important sources in developing his own proficiency.

Other than these three parents who did not attend primary school and Lazaro, the remaining parents consistently presented the discourse that Swahili is learned in school. As it relates to planning for their children to learn Swahili, however, parents indicated that they feel a certain pressure to introduce Swahili to their children early on in the home so that they are not overwhelmed by it when they enter school. This issue is not only connected to policy but also, as Musa points out below, to the fact that some teachers

cannot speak Malila:

(74) ***Tumewazoesha vibaya sisi sababu wanapotoka nyumbani kule hasa hasa zaidi ni kimalila. Sasa wakija huku wanaanza kushindwa kuelewana na walimu kwa sababu kule nyumbani wametoka na nini? Na kimalila kitupu! Ndio maana inatakiwa kutoka nyumbani ajue sana hasa kiswahili. Kusudi anapokuja huku akikutana na mwalimu ambaye a-metoka Sumbawanga,[31] sijui wapi na wapi, aanze kuongea kiswahili kilichonyoka.*** (3.05:110325:226)

'We [Malila people] have trained [our children] poorly because when they come out from their homes it's completely Malila. Now when they come to school[32] they start out failing to communicate with the teacher because back home they've left with what? With pure Malila! This is why it's necessary that from home they know a lot of Swahili. The purpose is so that when they come to school and meet up with a teacher who's from Sumbawanga, I don't know wherever, they should start to speak proper Swahili.'

From a discursive perspective, I argue that the ubiquitous nature of the response that 'Swahili is learned in school', identifies it as a principal function of primary education. And considering the high value parents have on learning Swahili for the reasons given above, it is not surprising that many defend the current policy that proscribes Malila instruction. This reasoning extends to English adding weight to the idea that parents have high expectations for schools to deliver on parents' language learning objectives.

Learning English

It was challenging to elicit beliefs about how one would go about successfully learning English. Beyond the statement that 'English is learned in school,' there was little else to this discourse as parents presented it. Only 10 of the interviewees attended secondary school and only four parents reported being

[31] The implication here is that the Sumbawangan teacher would not know Malila.
[32] Musa actually said 'if they come here' while we were on school property.

able to speak English.

Parents' discursive practices allocate the whole process of learning English to the school system. This is hardly surprising since, unlike Swahili, it would be difficult to learn it informally from others as very few people would be using it on a regular basis in the Malila region outside of school. This is exacerbated by the cultural expectation that locally, people should only speak Malila with one another. Furthermore, parents had no [successful] English learning experiences to reflect on since none of them spoke it competently—including those who reported knowing it. There were no parents who would have been able to take part in the study had the interviews been conducted in English. Blandina, reflecting on her invitation, admitted that when she and others were talking about participating in the research, ***Wengi tuliogopa moyoni. Mzungu tutasema kiingereza sisi? Nafuu kama anaongea kiswahili!*** 'Many of us feared in our hearts. Do we have to speak English with the white person? It'll be better if he speaks Swahili!'

Underscoring the unavailability of English in the Malila region, Godfrey joked that despite his affection for English, even if he knew it, he would have no one to talk to:

(75) ***Labda ikatokea nikajifunza kuongea kiingereza. Japokuwa nakipenda, sasa nitaongea na nani ili kiwe kiendelee kukaa kisipotee?!*** (Q2.04:131424:168)

'Maybe it happens that I learn to speak English. Even though I like it, who will I speak it with so that it develops and I don't lose it?'

For those who did talk about their personal learning experience with English, it was only presented as a negative one. This is not surprising since no one in the study has been successful at acquiring it. The result is a discourse where English, typically construed as a language of access, gets construed as a barrier, often with anthropomorphic abilities preventing people from passing through school gateways. These gateways are examinations. Those unable to succeed are presented as people who fail not because of their lack of knowledge but rather their inability to express that knowledge in English, be it in classroom activities or on examinations.

Like many other parents, Boniface believes that the solution is to introduce English instruction earlier so that when you are prompted to respond in English, you will be better prepared. He blames his own and others' failure on English being introduced too late:

(76) ***Ndio kilichotuangusha wengi. Sasa tungekuwa tumeanza na kiingereza hicho, wengi masomo tungekuwa tumefaulu. Sasa kule utakuta umeenda unasoma shule ya msingi, unajua lugha mbili tu, Kimalila na kiswahili. Kiingereza kinakuja yaani, kama mtu anapokushtukiza, 'Andika hapa!' Sasa utaelewa? Wakati ungeanza muda kuandika hapo anaposema, 'Andika!' ungekuwa umefaulu.*** (3.01:140842:268)

'Indeed that's what caused many of us to fall down. Had we started with English, many of us would have passed our studies. [In secondary school] you'll discover that from primary school you just know two languages; Malila and Swahili. English is coming, in other words, if [a teacher] says to you out of nowhere, "Write here!" Would you understand? Had you started to write [in English] earlier, when [the teacher] says "Write!" you would have succeeded.'

Greyson, on the other hand, introduces a different solution. He was among those who saw Malila as the answer and blames the use of Swahili and English in the classroom not only for his own failure in school but also for his current position in life. He's adamant that had he been educated in Malila—the language he was raised in—he would have had a completely different trajectory.

(77) ***Mimi nafikiri hata mimi hapa wangekuwa wanafundisha kimalila shuleni ningekuwa mwalimu. Sasa wakanifundisha lugha ambayo sijakulia. Wakanifundisha kiswahili ndio maana nikafeli. Wangenifundisha kimalila ningekuwa mwalimu saa hizi. Tungeanza kimalila moja kwa moja halafu watoe mtihani wa kimalila, ningefaulu, ningekuwa mwalimu. Sasa wakatufundisha kiingereza, kiswahili, ambayo sio lugha yetu. Ndio maana niko kijijini nalima. Nimeingia***

lugha ambayo sio husika ya kuzaliwa. Ningefundishwa ile ya kuzaliwa nayo, ningefaulu. (3.08:102144:226)

'Me I think, even me here had they taught Malila in school I would have been a teacher. But then they taught me in a language that I wasn't raised in. They taught me Swahili and that's why I failed. Had they taught me Malila I would be a teacher now. If we had started right away in Malila and then they gave exams in Malila, I would have passed, I would have been a teacher. But they taught us English, Swahili, languages which aren't ours. That's the reason I'm here in the village farming. I went into a language that wasn't the one I was raised in. Had I been taught in the one I was born with, I would have succeeded.'

Gilbert provides a concise overview. When I asked him how he learned Malila, Swahili and English, he provided a tidy summary of the discourses on language learning for the Malila community:

(78) ***Kimalila, tuseme ni lugha ya kuzaliwa nayo; kiswahili, mpaka uingie darasani; kiingereza, hivyo hivyo. Huwezi ukajua kiingereza hujaenda darasani.*** (3.03:121311:149)

'Kimalila, we'll say is a language [that one] is born with; Swahili, until you enter school; English, it's the same. You can't come to know English if you haven't gone to school.'

For Gilbert, learning Malila is a given if one is born in the region; Swahili comes later when one enters school; and English is unattainable outside of school.

5.3 Opposing Views on Malila in the Classroom

This final section looks at two opposing positions parents hold with respect to Malila as a formal LoI for their children: those for it and those against it. Discourses identified from the literature review are highlighted herein

where parallels can be drawn. These were summarised in tables 3.4 and 3.5 in chapter 3.

Interview item 3.08 was central to the interview as it asked the question of which language parents preferred for their children's early primary instruction.[33] Regardless of whether they answered for or against Malila, I would challenge their response by taking the opposing position. Typically this resulted in parents further explaining their preference but in some cases my challenge swayed them to a different position. In 13 interviews, one parent did not respond, leaving it up to their spouse to address the question. I chose not to press the silent partner for their position as I felt this to be more culturally appropriate rather than being potentially divisive with parents/couples. This is not to say that fathers and mothers did not disagree during the interviews—it happened—just not as an intentional interview strategy. Furthermore, because some parents disagreed, I do not report LoI preference by household.

Parents differed in their support of Malila, Swahili and English as LoIs for their children. Most stated their preference as a combination of Malila *and* Swahili or Swahili *and* English. The former position tended to favour younger children and the latter, older ones. It is not surprising in light of parents' long-term language learning goals for their children and their tendency to conflate LoI with language teaching, that their preferences shift towards DLoIs as their children grow older. No parents stated a preference for a combination of Malila and English instruction for their children (i.e. an exclusion of Swahili).

Because I view MLE as a potential strategy for capability expansion and a rejection of MTE is, by consequence, a rejection of MLE, parents' responses to item 3.08 were grouped into one of two categories: those who support Malila instruction and those who reject it. The responses are summarised in table 5.16.

Although this is a small sample with only 65 participants, I looked for anything that might resemble correlation patterns between the positions above and whether or not the school had a formal Malila nursery school

[33] See the discussion in section 4.3.1 regarding the design of the question.

TABLE 5.16: Parents' Positions on Malila as LoI in Early Primary

Position	Parents(n)
For	30
Against	16
Swayed For	4
Swayed Against	2
No Response/Unclear/Undecided	13
Total	65

program, parents' age, parents' relationship to their children (i.e. father vs. mother), parents' village, parents' preferred language and parents' level of education. I was not able to identify any patterns.

5.3.1 Parents for Malila Instruction

Those in favour of Malila instruction describe the practice as an effective way to help children understand Swahili vocabulary through translation. This is the MT SCAFFOLDING discourse identified in the literature review. The discourse has two salient components: a problem and a solution. The problem holds that children who enter the first year of primary school lack the proficiency in Swahili needed for successful learning. The solution holds that where teachers are able to use Malila to explain or re-explain Swahili concepts, children will learn those concepts more quickly and easily. The implication is that they would be able to reproduce them on Swahili exams. This aspect of the discourse was also seen in the literature through construing the mother tongue as a language in which it is EASIER TO LEARN.

In an MT SCAFFOLDING discourse, children are consistently presented as ***wadogo*** 'young' (or 'small'/'little'). Some parents construe a very negative image of young children at the mercy of a teacher who they cannot understand. Consider Zuwena's description of the problem:

(79) ***Hawa watoto huwa wanakuwa ni wadogo, wanachekechea hawa. Sasa ukiwabana sana kwamba wawe wanaongea kiswahili tu watashindwa kuelewa. Watakuwa na hofu katika mioyo yao. Najua bado utakuta haelewi, haelewi.*** (3.08:105659:230)

'These children are typically young, these nursery-schoolers. Now if you pressure them hard to only speak Swahili they won't be able to understand. They will have fear in their hearts. I know you'll find they're not yet able to understand.'

Notice what is being emphasised here is the age of the children rather than the actual issue—their lack of Swahili. One could argue that the two are mutually inclusive but many young children in Tanzania have adequate proficiency in Swahili for primary school instruction. The choice of ***wadogo***, however, garners more sympathy for children who are struggling with Swahili. Further sympathy is extracted by Zuwena's use of ***ukiwabana*** 'if you pressure them' in (79) as a way of describing the practice of instructing children in Swahili followed by her portrayal of 'young children' with 'fear in their hearts'.

Kelvin and Leyla (separate households) respectively give their description of how the solution of scaffolding works in (80) and (81):

(80) ***Inatakiwa waongeage kimalila, mwambiage kwa kiswahili ili mtoto awe anachukua huku na huku ili kwa kuelewa.*** (3.08:115800:240)

'It's necessary [teachers] speak Malila, then tell them in Swahili so the child can take from both places so they can understand.'

(81) ***Mtoto yule, akichanganya na kiswahili, akili yake inaanza kusema 'Aha kumbe!' Kwa kimalila atasema, 'Pale mwalimu amesema hivi. Aha kumbe, na kiswahili ni hivi!' Mtoto anaelewa zaidi.*** (3.08:114120:142)

'If that child combines [Malila] with Swahili, the child's mind starts to say, "Aha wow!" In Malila they'll say, "There the teacher said this. Aha wow, and in Swahili it's this!" The child understands

more.'

In both examples, children are presented as being able to transition from the known (Malila) to the unknown (Swahili) through simple translation. Leyla's comments are from the same turn discussed above in example (35) where she too, describes the problem also using ***mdogo*** (the singular form of ***wadogo***) before offering this solution. Malila, then, serves as a bridge into Swahili and these bridges, as Musa points out, may be erected as necessary to facilitate a better understanding of Swahili:

(82) ***Kwa sababu ni watoto wadogo. Alipokosea unamwelimisha kimalila, unaingia tena na kiswahili.*** (3.08:110325:242)
'Because they're small children. When they make a mistake, you explain it in Malila, then you go back to Swahili.'

Musa was explaining why he thought children should receive instruction in Malila. Like others, he restated the problem citing that they are ***watoto wadogo*** 'small children' and then described the solution of scaffolding by using Malila when Swahili creates an impasse. Musa points out how the scaffolding strategy is designed to help children move towards and stay in Swahili instruction.

The MT SCAFFOLDING discourse appears to be well established. It was presented to me in 23 interviews and parents construe it not only as a strategy to move from Malila to Swahili but also from Swahili to English once a foundation in Swahili has been established.

5.3.2 Parents Against Malila Instruction

It has been demonstrated above that many parents conflate language *of* instruction with language instruction. This combined with motivations for children to learn Swahili and English in addition to the view that Malila need not be taught since children are 'born with it', results in a strong commitment to an IMMERSION discourse and a rejection of Malila in the

classroom.

Several other discourses, however, are also at work. Parents who reject Malila instruction in early primary expressed beliefs that: i.) instruction in Malila compromises the learning of Swahili; ii.) instruction in Malila would prevent children from communicating with people outside of the Malila community; iii.) children need to learn in Swahili since examinations can only validate knowledge expressed in that language; and iv.) Malila (and often Swahili) lacks the vocabulary needed for knowledge in areas such as mathematics and the sciences. These beliefs were expressed through discourses that directly reflect discourses reported in the literature review favouring DLoIs (see table 3.4): i.) DISPLACEMENT, ii.) ISOLATION, iii.) ASSESSMENT LOI, and iv.) LEXICAL INADEQUACY.

The DISPLACEMENT discourse presents instruction in Malila as taking away from instruction in Swahili. It is the most prominent discourse in the data used to reject Malila instruction. Examples such as (24), demonstrate it well. The discourse construes Malila and Swahili as being in competition with one another in the classroom and the resulting conflict leaves parents with a binary choice. Parents who reject Malila instruction on this argument do so with the belief that if their children were to learn in Malila, that knowledge would not be available to them in Swahili. Similarly, knowledge only available in Swahili, becomes unavailable to children instructed in Malila

When I suggested to Raphael that Malila could successfully be used from nursery school through standard three, his main concern was what his son would miss in Swahili throughout those years:

(83) ***Itakuwa ngumu kwa sababu inaweza ikamwathiri. Kuna vitu vingine anaweza akavipita asijifunz= hili darasa la kwanza, la pili na tatu, vitu vingine asijifunze kwa kiswahili kwa sababu anatumia kimalila zaidi.*** (3.08:110401:143)

'It will be difficult because it can impact him. There are other things that he could miss if he doesn't learn= this standard one, two and three, he'll not learn other things in Swahili because he's using Malila too much.'

Raphael's chief concern was how Malila would take away time from Swahili. Another way in which the displacement discourse emerges is through the assignment of Malila and Swahili to specific spaces. For some, these spaces cannot be trespassed. When challenging parents who rejected Malila instruction, I often encountered the brief response, 'Because Swahili is the language of school.' This response evades the need to engage the challenge with pedagogical arguments by drawing on the higher authority of social structures which have predetermined that Malila has no place in school. Ahadi demonstrated this when I asked her to reconsider Malila instruction:

(84) ***Shuleni? Hamna. Shuleni kimalila hakipo, ila nyumbani wanakutana na wenzao na sisi, wazazi wao.***
(3.08:131424:236)
'In school? No. In school there is no Malila, [it's] just at home when they meet up with their friends and us, their parents.'

Ahadi's response speaks, again, to the nature of the social reality in which parents live and the stability of social sturctures (see Fairclough 2013f) such as the current language policy—structures that have potentially become immutable in the minds of many parents who struggle to conceptualise alternative approaches in education such as a shift in LoI.

Both Raphael and Ahadi demonstrate how 'Space, time and "space-times" are routinely constructed in texts' (Fairclough 2003, p.151). Where Raphael was protecting his children's Swahili time, Ahadi was protecting her children's Swahili space. The DISPLACEMENT discourse has successfully established and upheld a space-time in children's lives that has been colonised by Swahili—in much the same way Malila has its own space-times (e.g. at home and in the community).

Furthermore, the DISPLACEMENT discourse indirectly affirms the discussion above where parents conflate language-related skills with language. The logic employed by Junior in example (72)—that one need not provide Malila instruction because children already know it—is counter-intuitive from a perspective of teaching content. And the concern shared by parents that Malila instruction would negatively impact their children's ability to learn

Swahili, again points to the belief that teaching in a language primarily serves the purpose of teaching that language. This is important as it sheds light on why parents presented a discourse of DISPLACEMENT as grounds for resisting Malila instruction. I argue the response is not based in concern for a balance of language in time and space but rather a balance of language learning opportunities in time and space and in parents' minds, opportunities for learning Malila abound outside of the classroom.

The DISPLACEMENT discourse was also at work in Boniface's response above in (76); however, he was applying it to the competition between Swahili and English. The logic embodied in a DISPLACEMENT discourse argues that instruction should only be happening in the language one desires most for their child. Instruction in any other language comes at the cost of diminished performance in the language desired most. Allowances for other instructional languages in this discourse become concessions.

Parents who reject Malila instruction also presented a discourse of ISOLATION to defend their support for Swahili and English. A robust set of non-default labels presented in table 5.6 above were shown to link Malila deeply to the Malila region. One effect of these discursive practices is that they also de-link Malila from the rest of the world as evidenced in example (61). Zahra's response in (68) was part of her passionate refusal to embrace Malila instruction as it would lead to nowhere for her children. Blandina was no less adamant, even when I pushed back with statements that some parents believe Malila instruction would be better for children's learning. She responded:

(85) ***Hatupendi kimalila, yaani hatupendi, tunapenda wawe wanasema kiswahili. Hata mtoto akienda huko, utakuta pengine amesema amefaulu. Atafika kule atakuta waswahili zaidi. Hataelewa.*** (3.08:143151:279)

'We don't want Kimalila, we just don't want it, we prefer that [our children] are speaking Swahili. Even if a child goes to [a Malila program], you might find that they say they succeeded. [But] they'll end up somewhere and discover people are mostly speaking Swahili. They won't understand [it].'

Blandina's concerns over her daughters' ISOLATION outweigh any benefits they might experience from Malila instruction. Her modality positions her as doubtful that there are learning benefits connected to Malila but certain that children who learn in Malila will be helpless to communicate with Swahili speakers later on.

Closely tied to the idea that languages are ascribed to certain space-times is the way in which the current primary school system can only validate knowledge in Swahili. The desire by parents to align their children's LoIs with the languages used in high stakes testing comprises a discourse of ASSESSMENT LOI. This was demonstrated above by Magreth in example (62) who viewed any efforts to teach in Malila as unproductive in light of the current examination process. Magreth did change her position when challenged, but when I challenged Raphael to reconsider his position, he would not look beyond the use of Swahili for all standardised formal evaluation in primary school:

(86) ***Wanapokutana na mwalimu lazima watumie kiswahili. Kwa hiyo ni msingi sana na ni vizuri kwa sababu= hiki kiswahili kinakuwaga na mitihani baadaye. Lakini akirudi huku nyumbani ataongea anavyoongea kimalila lakini baadaye hana mtihani wowote wa kukitumia kimalila.*** (Q3.08:160617:133)

'When they meet up with the teacher they must use Swahili. So it's very foundational and it's good because= this Swahili goes with examinations later on. However, when they return home they'll speak Malila as they normally speak it but later on they don't have any exam at all that uses Malila.'

Parents both for and against Malila instruction struggle with this problem. For example, Pius described how his daughter would prefer that the teacher uses Malila; however, if she were to express herself in Malila on an examination, her knowledge would go invalidated.

(87) ***Somo ni la kiswahili, halafu yeye anapenda kwamba ungetaja kwa Kimalila. Inaweza ikawa ngumu kwa mtihani...***

> ***'kiti' kwa lugha yetu kinaitwa= kwa kiswahili 'kiti'... anaweza akakiita kwa lugha yetu, 'itengo.' Sasa akijaza 'itengo' mbeleni hawawezi wakamwelewa. Inaweza ikawa ngumu kwamba hapa amekosea kumbe ndio sahihi tu.***
> (3.08:130729:195)
>
> 'The class is in Swahili, but then she would like for you to say it in Malila. This could be difficult on an examination... "chair" in our language is called= in Swahili [it's] "kiti"... she could say it in our language, "itengo." But later on if she writes "itengo" [on an examination] they won't be able to understand her. It can be difficult in that she's incorrect but surprisingly it's the right answer.'

Magreth in (62), Raphael in (86) and Pius in (87) presented what was for them, the most obvious obstacle to Malila instruction: the ***mtihani*** 'examination'. High-stakes examinations serve as gateways between key levels of education in Tanzania. For example, failure to succeed on exams can prevent someone from going on to secondary school, moving beyond Form 2, receiving a Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (i.e. 'O' Level or Form 4) or an Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (i.e. 'A' Level or Form 6). From a discursive perspective, I want to draw attention to two elements of the ASSESSMENT LOI discourse. The first has to do with how the examination process is represented and the second has to do with agency.

When analysing how people represent social events, Fairclough describes three elements that should be considered in clauses: 'Processes, Participants, and Circumstances' (2003, p.135). These elements normally take up their place in the clause (respectively) as verbs; subjects or objects (direct and indirect); and adverbials. Furthermore, each element has sub-types in that there are kinds of processes, participants and circumstances. Assessing students through examinations could be described in great detail if one were to provide information about each of these elements; however, it is reasonable to expect that parents would leave certain information implicit where shared knowledge might be assumed (see van Dijk 2003).

The giving and writing of examinations is a material process in that

it represents concrete actions 'that have a material result or consequence' (Machin and Mayr 2012, p.106). When parents presented the ASSESSMENT LOI discourse, however, none of them described the process with verbs. By representing the event with a noun (***mtihani*** 'examination') those who administer or prepare the examinations are obfuscated which gives prominence to the examination as both a text and an event that exists independently of the people who implement them. Participants mentioned in the three examples above include children who write examinations, teachers who teach in either Malila or Swahili and teachers who read (i.e. grade) examinations. In (62), Magreth blames the students' inability to 'fill in' what they were taught on the teachers use of Malila. Conversely, in (86), the teacher who instructs in Swahili is presented as doing right by the student—Raphael's son—because he will never be required to write an examination in Malila. In (87), Pius backgrounds teachers and gives prominence to his daughter who uses Malila to correctly answer exam questions but still fails since her answers cannot be understood.

In these examples, little is provided regarding specific circumstances (e.g.: Fairclough suggests 'Time, Place, Purpose, Reason, Manner, Means' (2003, p.141) as types of circumstances that might collocate with material processes) except for information about language as it relates to the participants and the examination itself which is exclusively in Swahili. The exclusion of circumstances at this level constitutes a more abstract way of representing social events. Time is either future or unspecified (e.g. subjunctive mood, relatives or conditionals) which allowed parents to present their examination scenarios as hypothetical events. The combination of abstract and hypothetical representation is well suited for generalisation which helps Magreth, Raphael and Pius position themselves as good predictors of what will happen if Malila is used for instruction: Children will not be able to write examinations in Swahili and if they attempt to answer questions with Malila, they will still fail—even if they have the right answers.

Parents who resist Malila instruction on this argument are not making a connection between a change in LoI and the adaptation of curriculum, including examinations, to accommodate that change. This is primarily related to the entrenchment of current policy in social structures and practices but another possibility that needs to be explored is the scarcity of learning

materials in the Malila language.[34] In either case, when examinations are presented as an impasse to Malila instruction because they can *only* be conducted in Swahili, it speaks to the lack of agency parents feel about the curriculum. Even parents who support Malila instruction, viewed Malila as a means to help their children learn Swahili so they could successfully complete their examinations. Only one parent interviewed (see example (77) above) demonstrated some agency at this level by re-imagining the curriculum, examination process and how it may have led to different life outcomes.

Parents also resisted the use of Malila for instruction based on their perception that Malila did not have sufficient vocabulary to support learning in subjects such as mathematics and the sciences. This parallels the discourse of LEXICAL INADEQUACY presented by parents in the literature. For example, Lazaro was supportive of both Swahili and English as adequate languages for the transmission of knowledge in technical domains but when I pressed him further to consider Malila (and other indigenous languages) in this role, he was quite dismissive of the idea. He argued that even beyond school, indigenous languages were inadequate for talking about present-day technology in the physical world.

(88) ***Tutapata wapi hivyo vitu kama mahospitalini kama watoto wangekuwa wamejifunza huku kimalila sasa? Vimekuja vifaa toka nchi za nje wakati pale wameandika kiingereza tu. Kimalila hakipo sasa itakuwa ngumu sana, yaani tuendelee na lugha hizo ambazo zinajulikana, kiswahili na kiingereza.*** (3.11:110404:217)

'Where will we get those things such as [what's needed] in the hospitals if children would have been learning Malila here. Equipment has come from foreign countries but it is only labelled in English. Malila is not there so it'll be very difficult; therefore, we should continue with languages which are [more] familiar, Swahili and English.'

[34] At the time of the interviews, people in the Malila community had only minimal exposure to materials produced by development efforts in their language. Some had still not yet seen the recently developed orthography.

Lazaro presents a hypothetical situation where at some point in the future, the Malila community is not able to procure modern hospital equipment because Malila instruction failed to provide them with the ability to talk about those things and call them by name. Fairclough (2003) points out the pervasiveness of implicitness in texts and its necessity in the formation of shared meanings and assumptions that comprise the 'common ground' (p.55) upon which communities interact (see section 2.2.1). He distinguishes existential assumptions, propositional assumptions and value assumptions. All three are at work in Lazaro's response. Existential assumptions include the existence of hospitals and specifically, hospital equipment that is only identifiable with the English language. The Malila language is present in this construal but the ability to name or know hospital equipment in Malila is not a reality. English and Swahili are also present as more familiar (i.e. more broadly-known) but only English is connected to the equipment through labels (and possibly product manuals). There are also children who have presumably grown up; however, they only speak Malila. Propositional assumptions include the implicit need for the Malila community to import and use hospital equipment which is not locally available; the belief that children instructed in Malila will not speak other languages; the DISPLACEMENT discourse (as it was presented by parents in the literature); and the belief that Swahili and English are both available for learning and such learning is adequate for the task of procuring and using hospital equipment in English. Value assumptions include the importance of procuring medical equipment from abroad and the difficulties presented which result from the lack of equipment that is identifiable and usable with the Malila language. Some of these assumptions are less problematic (e.g. the value placed on procuring hospital equipment or the existence of equipment without Malila labels or instructions) than others (e.g. instruction in Malila excludes opportunities to learn English and Swahili or that English and Swahili are available for learning to the extent that is believed). I do not argue that Lazaro is positioning himself as someone who is driving hegemony (i.e in an effort to safeguard power) but I would argue that Lazaro has acquiesced to hegemonic ideology and then contributed to it discursively, which is the effect of hegemony on the socially excluded. Lazaro was not alone in his support of both Swahili and English over concerns of LEXICAL INADEQUACY. Other parents extended the discourse to include Swahili as well.

It is also worth noting here how Lazaro conflates LoI with language teaching as Junior did in example (72) above (although he does it more subtly). In the interview, I specifically asked for his position on using Malila and other indigenous languages for instruction but note the conditional that forms his question in (88) when he states ***kama watoto wangekuwa wamejifunza huku kimalila sasa*** 'if children would have been learning Malila here'. The condition I suggested was 'learning *through* Malila' but the condition was equated with and restated as 'learning Malila'.

In addition to the DISPLACEMENT, ASSESSMENT LOI and LEXICAL INADEQUACY discourses, parents reported other concerns related to Malila instruction. More data, however, would be needed to understand the discursive properties of those responses, the extent to which they are working ideologically and whether or not they have found their way into parents' shared belief systems. These include concerns that i.) teaching and learning materials in Malila are inadequate; ii.) there are not enough teachers who speak Malila; and iii.) MIXED ETHNICITY.[35] Parents did not offer these concerns as primary reasons to reject Malila instruction but rather they were brought up as logistical issues related to implementing Malila as an LoI. Furthermore, each was mentioned only once by unique individuals. They are, nonetheless, important and would need to be addressed in a language development and MLE program implementation for the Malila community.

One further isolated response is of interest to this study and it deserves further inquiry. Kassim reported that authorities do not want Tanzanians to use languages that divide them but should instead use Swahili and English—languages that bring the nation together. This is a text that is doing ideological work. Interestingly, despite Kassim being against Malila instruction, he distanced himself from the discourse and even praised other communities who had gone ahead with efforts to develop their languages. I was surprised that no other parents presented this discourse as I have heard it on multiple occasions, albeit mostly from people in positions of authority.

[35]This discourse was presented by a parent in the largest Malila town of Ilembo where the primary school student population was more ethnically/linguistically diverse.

5.4 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, three languages have been identified as having importance to the parents interviewed for their children's education and future: Malila, Swahili and English. Various ideological beliefs associated with those languages construe them as vehicles for certain types of identities and activities or rather 'beings' and 'doings' to use the language of the CA. Similarly, parents' discursive practices when talking about language learning have revealed ideological beliefs in respect to how those languages are or should be obtained. This plays out into considerable support from parents for Malila to be used in early primary instruction but how they envision its implementation is not aligned with the pedagogy that informs the kind of MLE program laid out by Malone (2018) (see figure 3.1). A key difference being that the latter places a greater emphasis on mother tongue maintenance.

In the next chapter, I discuss these findings broadly within the CA and specifically within a theory of Linguistic Citizenship as presented by Stroud (2001), Stroud and Heugh (2004), and as it relates to Tanzania, Rubagumya et al. (2011). Also, the discursive practices identified in this chapter are assembled into a proposed FLP that represents general language practices by the Malila (and other similarly situated language communities in Tanzania).

Chapter 6

Discussion

> We would like to suggest that if one looks at citizenship in terms of language repertoire, one is able to distinguish three types of citizens in Tanzania: 'global citizens', 'Tanzanian citizens', and for lack of a better term, 'semi-citizens'. (Rubagumya et al. 2011, p.80)

In the previous chapter it was established that three languages figure importantly into the lives of parents and their children in the Malila community. Other languages were mentioned but none of them were construed in ways that imbued them with the same, high degree of importance ascribed to English, Swahili and Malila. Above, Rubagumya et al. (2011) describe a 'three-tier citizenship' (p.80) into which Tanzanians can be divided based on their ability to access and communicate effectively in specific languages: English, Swahili, and one (or more) of Tanzania's indigenous languages. The first group, described as 'global citizens', represent Tanzania's elite for their ability to use English, Swahili and possibly (but not necessarily) an indigenous language. Global citizens are a small portion of the population but their competence in English and Swahili affords them with the greatest opportunities for educational, geographical, communicative, social and economic mobility. The second group, 'Tanzanian citizens', represent the largest portion of the population. They can function competently in Swahili and most likely one or more indigenous languages but they lack proficiency in English. Tanzanian citizens tend to live in urban/semi-urban contexts and they can participate nationally in a variety of domains; however, their mobility is significantly diminished by their lack of English since they are unable to participate successfully in domains dominated by English (e.g. secondary schools, universities, some corporate sectors, the international community, etc.). The third group, those described as 'semi-citizens', are only able to function in indigenous languages and would require assistance

to participate in domains where Swahili and English are used (e.g. elections, hospitals, courts, schools, etc.). Their languages are proscribed in formal education, national media outlets and all government services. The mobility of semi-citizens is extremely limited to the opportunities available in what are typically remote, rural communities where people live as subsistence farmers. Semi-citizens represent the largest, economically under-privileged portion of Tanzania's population.

This hierarchical ordering of languages in multilingual societies has been noted elsewhere and is gaining considerable attention in the field of FLP for the way it impacts parents' decisions on what language practices to support or reject:

> In any given multilingual or monolingual society, languages are hierarchically ordered. An example of such ordering process is seen in the global spread of English as lingua franca and the associated hierarchies that come with it, as has been widely addressed in FLP research (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2016; Garrett, 2011; Kirsch, 2012; Simpson, 2013; Wang, 2017). (Curdt-Christiansen 2018, p.430)

Serpell (1993), in an earlier case study conducted in rural Zambia between 1974 and 1988, views the phenomenon in post-colonial, low-income contexts as the result of western formal models of education and the received ideologies that equate the following:

> civilisation = urban life-style
> education = schooling
> intelligence = aptitude for learning (1993, p.106)

Serpell was looking at the perceived significance of schooling in the lives of Chewa-speaking individuals from the Kondwelani community. He found some viewed schooling as having very little to offer them whereas others embraced 'its narrow staircase definition as a channel for their career' (1993, p.142) to which he further laments:

> Not only is this technological perspective product-oriented but it also implies a stratified and compartmentalized view of society:

> you either make it into the upper class (*apamwamba*) world of the educated or you don't. The cut-off points for class membership are defined by the hierarchical selection system. Completing grade 7 defines one tier, completing form 3 (or form 2) another, completing form 5 yet a further tier, and tertiary education a final upper crust. (1993, p.142)

Rubagumya et al. precisely demonstrate this in the three-tier citizenship they propose for Tanzanians who hold different linguistic identities. They argue for a perspective of Linguistic Citizenship in response to what they see as the state's failure to improve the quality of education for linguistically marginalised communities and make a strong case against an over-reliance on top-down, rights-based approaches (which from their perspective do more to sustain the current problem than it does to rectify it) advocating for change through more bottom-up strategies.

For them, the tiers are social realities—the symptoms of a broken social system whereas in the context of this study, they nurture an ideological belief system that impacts parents' thinking about language-in-education. The groups of people who populate the tiers and the opportunities they can or cannot access comprise a sociolinguistic world that aligns well with what parents collectively construed in the present study as they talked about Malila, Swahili and English and the language learning goals they have for their children.

This study not only affirms (and is affirmed by) the work of Rubagumya et al. but it can, and arguably should, build upon and elaborate the three-tiered citizenship they propose. Furthermore, because the tiers distinguish groups of people and the quality of life they are able to enjoy, they are well-suited to be discussed within the capability approach, a framework for conceptualising inequality in terms of what people are able to be and do (i.e. looking beyond what they have or what they report about their well-being).

This chapter takes parents' discursive practices identified in the previous chapter and assembles them into a more unified and coherent belief system that describes a discursive network of ideologies. Together they form a larger socio-linguistic reality within which parents act and react as they engage with their children's education and ultimately consider how certain LoIs bear

on the outcomes they desire for their children. There are obvious limitations as to what can be accomplished here and any description offered will not be comprehensive but rather cursory at best. The data does not represent the full range of beliefs and values that would influence parents' thinking about LoI as there was a myriad of constraints on what could be asked and answered. Furthermore, any descriptions of social realities garnered from parents' responses are synchronically bound to the interviews. Nonetheless, even a cursory glance that captures how ideologies are working together to influence various positions on LoI is valuable for the way it reveals not only what discourses are salient but also the complex nature of the issue. Through building upon and elaborating the three tiers of citizenship proposed by Rubagumya et al., I address each of the research questions. The first two sections of the chapter work together to address questions 1 and 2. The last two sections work together to address questions 3 and 4.

6.1 The Discursive Landscape of Parents and LoI

Various discourses were identified in the previous chapter that answer the first and second research questions:

Research Question 1: What do the discourses that parents attach to specific languages reveal about the way parents value those languages for their children?

Investigating Malila parents' LoI preferences for their children should start with a deeper understanding of how parents both view and value Malila, Swahili and English as objects of learning. This follows from parents' strong belief that the practice of instructing in a given language plays a central role in the acquisition, competency and maintenance of that language. Without understanding how parents view and value Malila, Swahili and English, it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to appreciate the biases they bring to an LoI debate. Language attitudes have been shown to be one of the most significant factors impacting LoI preferences for parents (R. P. Kemppainen et al. 2008).

In this section, I summarise and discuss the discourses identified in

the previous chapter. Also, because a similar approach was applied to parents' responses in the literature review, I draw attention to the presence of discourses in this study that align with those identified in the literature. In that chapter, parents were placed into two camps based on their discursive practices: those who favoured DLoIs and those who favoured NDLoIs. The discourses that work to construe those two positions are listed respectively in tables 3.4 and 3.5 (the notation adopted for discourse labels in that discussion is retained here). Re-engaging the literature at this point serves three purposes. First, it helps to situate the parents in this study among parents from a more global context. Areas of similarity may be generalisable to other contexts. Second, the discourses identified in the literature serve as a point of triangulation, albeit a distant one, that indirectly supports this study's findings where patterns exist. Thirdly, where the discursive practices of parents in this study align with those of other studies, it could be an indication of interdiscursivity. This helps to address the second research question:

Research Question 2: What discourses reflect and shape parents' ideological thinking about the language learning practices they espouse for their children?

Reflecting and shaping are viewed as both discrete and simultaneous processes. Where a certain discourse is espoused by someone, that discourse can be said to be a synchronic reflection of their ideological beliefs. Articulating and re-articulating that discourse also plays a role in shaping ideology both for the individual as well as for any audience they may have. The difference between reflecting and shaping is that the former is an internal process whereas the latter can be both internal and external. Shaping that is internal describes shaping and reshaping of one's own beliefs. Shaping that is external describes shaping and reshaping the beliefs of others. Hegemonic social structures depend on the latter, especially between groups where there is an imbalance of power that favours the external influence (Gramsci 1971). In this study, more work is needed to trace what might be external discursive sources of influence on the Malila community. It is assumed that they exist and where certain discourses observed in multiple global contexts also emerge in this study, it is possible that they may have had a greater likelihood of finding their way into the Malila community (e.g. through educational

authorities, mass media, teachers, NGOs, etc.). This study, however, has prioritised identifying discourses as a logical first step before attempting to trace their origins.

6.1.1 Malila in Discourse

Parents used 24 non-default labels for the Malila language to introduce discursive practices that link it to status, people, origins and location. Discursive practices of status reveal that Malila has lower prestige than Swahili and English but high prestige as a language of Malila identity and origins. There is a perception among parents that historically, Malila had a larger vocabulary but as elders pass away, the lexicon is shrinking. This combined with an increase in Swahili and English loan words to accommodate foreign merchandise and information further cultivates the idea that the language is losing its richness and authenticity while at the same time being diluted.

Malila is discursively connected to the people who make up the Malila community and it provides them with a link back to their origins. They own and sustain it with very little external support. This deep ownership could be seen grammatically in that 'Malila' was modified with Swahili's full range of possessive pronouns. All of the interviewees desire that their children learn and retain it as a source of identity and historical pride but they also recognise this is tenuous as they expect their children to live outside of the Malila region and rely on Swahili and English for greater educational, geographical, communicative, social and economic mobility. Nonetheless, children should retain some Malila as a form of cultural capital, at least enough to return home as adults and (re)identify as Malila. The language serves as a 'badge' of Malila identity, both within and without the community. Losing the language is equated with losing one's roots and/or intentionally imitating others. It is standard social practice for parents to speak it with their children before introducing other languages.

The Malila language is also discursively bound to a carefully defined geographical space in a south-western portion of southern Tanzania's Mbeya region, unofficially but widely known as ***Umalila***. This has the effect of making it the language most strongly associated with what the Malila

community consider to be their home. Within that space there is a social obligation for people to use Malila with each other unless they are foreigners. Those who disregard this obligation risk social ostracism. While Malila's attachment to Umalila is a further source of identity and establishes a shared space in which people can be Malila, it is also viewed as a severe limitation. The view that the language resides in a specific location is also a view that it is confined to a specific location and this confinement is extended to people who only speak Malila. Add to this the perception that opportunities for educational, communicative, geographical, social and economic mobility within the Malila region are not as robust as those beyond Umalila, this confinement is viewed as one of the most significant limitations on their children's capability sets (i.e. the range of opportunities available to them). The result for people who fail to learn Swahili and English is expressed in a strong discourse of ISOLATION—a fear also expressed by parents in the literature who gravitated towards DLoIs for their children's education.

Parents' motivations for their children to know Malila were consistent with three **INTEGRATIVE** reasons presented by parents in the literature in support of NDLoIs. As it relates to sustaining a Malila *Identity*, parents construed the Malila language as important for both PERSONAL MAINTENANCE (e.g. examples (2), (17) and (57)) and GROUP MAINTENANCE (e.g. examples (55) and (56)). Also, parents' desire for their children to retain Malila for meaningful, future home visits is consistent with parents who expressed the same desire in the literature through a discourse of HOME INTEGRATION (e.g. examples (2), (58) and (59)). The parents who presented these discourses in this study, however, did not do so in support of Malila for instruction (at least not directly) but rather to justify their children's competence in Malila. I suggest that there are two ways of interpreting this. In one perspective, it can be said that ideologies work at a more abstract but higher level and as such are able to sustain multiple social practices (e.g. teaching Malila at home and Swahili at school). Another perspective is that parents in the literature have confused or conflated LoI with language teaching. Some researchers in the literature lament this confusion as one of the most significant obstacles to MTE since language learning objectives eclipse pedagogy and dominant languages prevail in instruction (e.g. Dutcher 1995; Nomlomo 2006; J. M. Rugemalira 2005; Woldemariam 2007). Wolff

(2011) specifically argues that language learning is separate from 'the totally independent question of the most adequate medium of instruction in terms of general access to knowledge and learning' (p.96). I, however, would defend parents—at least to some extent—for holding the reasonable expectation that instruction in a given language would have the added benefit of building greater competencies in that language than if it were only taught as a subject. This is certainly the case in Canada where a growing number of English-speaking households are enrolling children in French immersion programs (Statistics Canada 2020) with the goal of improved French skills (Dicks and Genesee 2017). French immersion would simply not be viable in Canada if the same results could be achieved by students in Core or even Extended/Intensive French programs.

Some parents reject Malila instruction for the same reason that parents in the literature reject NDLoIs citing issues of LEXICAL INADEQUACY. Three contentions I have with this discourse are: first, it ignores the fact that the lexical inventories of languages are able to expand and contract with speakers' communicative needs. Second, it overlooks MLE program design that typically transitions instruction from the mother tongue to a language of wider communication well before subject content requires highly technical vocabulary. But none of the interviewees were aware of this and explaining MLE was not a part of the interview event so their concerns are valid. Third, the discourse shares the problematic assumption found in both DISPLACEMENT and ASSESSMENT LOI where teaching in a language is viewed synonymously with teaching a language (i.e. by instructing in Malila, concepts which lack Malila vocabulary will never be learned).

In terms of how it is that children come to know the Malila language, parents do not believe there is any need for it to be formally taught. It is construed as a language that people acquire somewhat effortlessly by virtue of being born into a Malila-speaking household/community. They can be 'born with it', 'encounter it', 'inherit it' and 'raised in it' but they are seldom construed as having learned it. For many, this disqualifies Malila as an LoI—again affirming the belief that LoIs are viewed as objects of learning more so than as a means for learning. For the parents in this study who do support Malila instruction, their focus is entirely on the advantage of scaffolding to increase children's vocabulary in Swahili and English (i.e. other DLs). This

perspective was shared by parents in the literature through two discourses: MT SCAFFOLDING and EASIER TO LEARN, both **INSTRUMENTAL** benefits of NDLoIs that are believed to positively impact *Quality of Education* by improving language learning outcomes. This view of scaffolding, however, falls far short of the kind of pedagogies one would expect in a formal MLE curriculum where mother tongue competencies are viewed (and intentionally developed) as a foundation rather than as a scaffold.

Other salient discourses expressed by parents in the literature supporting NDLoIs (table 3.5) were not expressed by parents in this study. This is not surprising, however, since those discourses are related to the positive results of more established MLE programs that have had sufficient time to demonstrate their efficacy. At the time of this research, the Malila community only had four MTE programs and because of policy constraints, the timing and duration of those were limited to nursery school- and preschool-aged children. I argue that these limitations will continue to prevent the Malila community from realising greater benefits that research has shown to come out of MLE programs. These include **INSTRUMENTAL** benefits connected to *Quality of Education* such as IMPROVED OUTCOMES, a BETTER ENVIRONMENT for learning, greater PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT and the use of materials with more CULTURAL RELEVANCE. They also include **INTEGRATIVE** benefits connected to *Identity* such as the sense of VALIDATION when a language is formalised for instruction, perceptions of improved WELL-BEING for children who learn in their mother tongue and the enjoyment of one's LINGUISTIC RIGHTS. It is possible, however, that a discourse of VALIDATION could be emerging as one parent, in an isolated example, elevated the Malila his daughter learned in nursery school since the language could now be read and written. Other **INTEGRATIVE** benefits not seen in this study include better SCHOOL INTEGRATION with home life and a stronger foundation for DL CULTURE INTEGRATION.

6.1.2 Swahili in Discourse

Swahili has legal status as the national language of Tanzania (*Tanzania Government Portal: Tanzania Profile* 2015); however, it is not entirely clear what that means. Over the years, the language has become tied to deep

political discourses—a process that began with Tanzania's first President, Mwl. Julius Kambarage Nyerere, and his efforts to introduce socialism in Tanzania through a movement called ***Ujamaa*** 'familyhood'. Blommaert (2013, p.41) describes the role of Swahili as being 'strongly idealised, even mythologised' and suggests three important roles of Swahili for the way in which:

> It would (1) facilitate the spread of Ujamaa ideas and values; (2) allow maximum democratic participation of the masses in the process of decision making, and (3) become the particular mark of the Tanzanian citizen, who spoke an African language instead of the European languages adopted as official languages by most fellow Africans in other countries. (Blommaert 2013, p.41)

Blommaert further adds that Swahili's elevation by Nyerere and the TANU party went unchallenged and the language came to personify Tanzania's nationhood and independence:

> The promotion of Swahili to the status of national language was perceived as linguistic decolonisation, and this was too big an achievement to be treated critically. The image of Swahili as a Herderian language-with-a-spirit was to a large extent sustained by the enthusiasm of decolonisation and of social reform through Ujamaa. If national culture had any sort of reality, then Swahili was certainly one of its characteristic features. (Blommaert 2013, p.51)

Parents in this study revealed important ideologies connected to Swahili through 12 non-default labels. It was most consistently presented as a language that unifies Tanzanians through its unparalleled reach across the country. The broad social and geographical space assigned to Swahili is construed through discursive practices that characteristically overstate the extent to which Tanzanians competently speak it—a discourse that has also been taken up by some of the academic community (e.g Babaci-Wilhite 2010; Brock-Utne 2007b). Swahili's reach combined with its important historical and symbolic link to Tanzania's independence, has imbued it with a central role in a perception of national unity that is also characteristically overstated.

Intense political, religious and socio-economic rifts become non-existent when parents discuss the unity Tanzanians relish because of Swahili. The language is given anthropomorphic properties as an agent who carries out the unification process and the result is a stronger connection to the nation-state than can be said of any other language. None of the parents interviewed linked Malila or any indigenous language to the state (e.g. as *a* language of Tanzania). This has a profound impact in establishing who owns Swahili. It belongs to the nation-state whereas Malila and other indigenous languages belong to the ethnic communities who speak them. Parents who did express ownership of Swahili did so by assuming a posture within a larger collective as Tanzanian citizens. Grammatically, this was only expressed collectively through the 1st person plural possessive pronoun. The only other pronominal modifier it occurred with was the 3rd person singular possessive pronoun for which the antecedent was not a person but rather the state.

Swahili's early adoption by Tanzania's first government and its widespread implementation as the LoI for primary school is also reflected in discursive practices that construe it as a language of education. With the proscription of indigenous languages from formal schooling, there are no other languages in which a person can complete primary school. English is the only exception but there are no English-medium primary schools in the Malila region and the low socio-economic status of parents in this study prevented them from sending their children away to English-medium schools. Many parents, however, did express a willingness to do so if they had the means. But not all agree that English is a preferred LoI. There was strong support for the 2015 education policy, which seeks to extend the role of Swahili as LoI to secondary school and teach English as a subject (see Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2014). The rationale for this is the perception that children can learn content more quickly in Swahili and that they would perform better on assessment if it were not conducted in English. As was pointed out in section 3.2.3 of the literature review, this was the opposite of what Ambroz and Mushi (2015) reported from Twaweza's telephone survey findings which claimed that Tanzanian parents wanted English instruction introduced earlier in the overall curriculum. I argued there that survey instruments are insufficient on their own to study parents' LoI preferences and I reiterate that point here. The ideological underpinnings are too complex for most questionnaires.

There are several plausible explanations for the discrepancy between this study and Twaweza's but I would first want to explore how parents in that study understood and conceptualised the new policy. For example, in this study, only 7 out of 37 households had heard about it at all whereas the remainder heard about it in the interviews. Furthermore, Twaweza's report ignores specific voices such as those of indigenous language communities.

This study affirms Blommaert's characterisation of Swahili as being highly idealised at the national level and following from that, I would add the language is deeply valued by people who assume a Tanzanian identity. It is routinely construed in discourse as i.) a single language that all Tanzanians can use to communicate with one another regardless of what ethnic community they belong to; ii.) a language that brings Tanzanians together in a unifying kind of way that is positively valued; and iii.) a unique language in Tanzania that is exclusively linked to the nation-state as the established language for primary education. In marketing speak, it could be one of the world's finest examples of a successful cultural branding strategy for the way it has turned Swahili into a '*storied product*...through which customers experience identity myths' (Holt 2004, p.36, emphasis in original). I would further suggest that through the routine and systematic deployment of the kind of discursive choices seen in the findings (tables 5.7, 5.9 and 5.10), Swahili is continuously affirmed in its appropriation of these functions making them unavailable to other languages. Therefore, at the level of implicit assumptions, the ideological reasoning continues that ethnic languages are i.) languages Tanzanians cannot use to communicate with one another but are instead confined to their respective language communities; ii.) languages that do not bring Tanzanians together but instead, using them is potentially divisive; and iii.) languages without significant value to the nation-state and proscribed for use in formal education.

In the context of schooling, however, there were parents in this study who construed Swahili as a foreign language and one in which it is too difficult for young children entering primary school to comprehend. Many feel the solution to this is to introduce Swahili earlier in the home, well before children reach school age—a practice I argue could have unintended, negative consequences for sociolinguistically fragile languages like Malila. Still other parents argued that a solution would be for teachers to use Malila in the

classroom as a scaffold to help young children understand concepts in Swahili. Again, I would argue against this solution for the way it takes a strictly utilitarian approach to the Malila language in the classroom and deprives children of other benefits known to be connected to formal, robust MLE programs (see Ouane and Glanz 2010). Discourses presented by parents in the literature review who experienced such programs reflected these benefits but as stated above, most were not expressed by parents in this study.

Parents' discursive practices relating to motivations for Swahili competence align well with discourses expressed by parents in the literature review who support DLoIs. This further affirms the close relationship that parents in very diverse, international contexts attribute to LoI and language learning. Swahili is viewed as an important language for children to learn so they can communicate with outsiders. This is expressed positively through a discourse of MOVEMENT (e.g. examples (3), (13), (28), (29), (38), (41) and (43)) and negatively through a discourse of ISOLATION (e.g. examples (3), (13) and (43)). Construals of Swahili as a means to achieve a Tanzanian identity are expressed through a discourse of WIDER CITIZENSHIP (eg. examples (28), (30), (31), (32), (33) and (42)). A Tanzanian identity is deeply linked to knowing Swahili as is having a basic, primary education. Further to that, construals of Swahili as necessary for writing exams are expressed through a discourse of ASSESSMENT LOI (e.g. example (62)). For many, this is one of the greatest obstacles to embracing MLE. Swahili examinations in primary school are an immutable 'fact of life' for many parents.

With Swahili's strong connection to primary school and formal education, it is not surprising that learning it is construed as a process that happens almost exclusively in school. Only 3 parents in this study suggested that Swahili can be learned by picking it up from others, radio and/or television but this comes with the perception that Swahili not learned in school is substandard. Considering the important functionings attached to Swahili then, primary schools play a very important social role as the main connecting point between two communities: the Malila community and the Tanzanian community. To represent this bidirectional relationship, I describe primary schools as outposts of the state through which Swahili language and culture formally enter the Malila community. And for Malila parents and children, these outposts serve as the exclusive gateways through which Swahili and its

identities can be assumed. Without exposure to or an understanding of how this can happen in an MLE program, however, it is difficult for parents to conceptualise Malila instruction not resulting in some form of DISPLACEMENT of opportunities to access Swahili. From this ideological perspective, MTE could be devastating for their children's futures.

6.1.3 English in Discourse

English figures less prominently into the daily lives of the interviewees and this is reflected in only 8 non-default labels for indexing it (i.e. versus 24 for Malila and 12 for Swahili). Conditions that would increase their exposure to English would include having older children in secondary school or working in certain sectors but the interviewees were chosen for having children in pre-/early primary and with the exception of one student, the rest were farmers.

The 8 discourses attached to English through its non-default labels revealed ideological thinking about its reach and its otherness. As to its reach, parents construed a linguistic world in which English is spoken everywhere beyond Tanzania. Its most common non-default label is ***lugha ya kimataifa*** 'international language' and it is routinely presented as a language that allows you to go anywhere in the world and speak to anyone. Furthermore, the idea that English's reach is dynamic and expanding was also construed through a discourse that English is reaching into the Malila community through media, technology and imported goods. This was connected to another discourse about personal security and a growing frustration of not being able to read labels on manufactured items, especially warnings on medication and other chemical-based products.

Non-default labels were also used to draw attention to English's 'otherness' as a foreign language but only when parents sought to distance themselves from it. This happened exclusively as they placed blame on English for their children's poor educational performance, especially in secondary school where it is the language of both instruction and assessment. When describing English as a foreign language in this context, the discursive effect is that parents can call into question the level of commitment they should be

expected to have towards it. And unlike Malila and Swahili, no ownership was expressed by anyone in the study towards it. In all of the data from parents, neither the word 'English' nor any of its labels were grammatically modified with possessive pronouns.

As with Malila and Swahili, when parents expressed motivations for their children to know English, discourses seen from parents in the literature connected to DLoIs once again began to emerge. Parents presented a robust discourse of mobility with economic mobility as the capstone after educational, geographical, communicative and social mobility. Each of these, however, should be recognised in their own right so as not to reduce the value parents place on them as discrete capabilities. Surprisingly, discourses that linked English to geographical and communicative mobility were more prominent (i.e. occurred more in the data) than those that explicitly linked it to economic mobility. In the literature review, the discursive practice of linking English to ECONOMIC MOBILITY was by far the most common discourse presented by parents who defended their preference of DLoIs. And for parents in this study as well, linking English to economic opportunities was construed as a social law characterised grammatically by conditional relationships, e.g.: if a child learns English, then they will be afforded greater opportunities in life. Conversely, if a child fails to learn English they then fail to succeed in life (e.g. examples (63), (64), (66) and (67)).

Also shared with parents in the literature were **INSTRUMENTAL** discourses connected to *Educational Mobility* and *Communicative Mobility*. Progress in education is largely attributed to knowing English, since LATER SCHOOL DEMANDS (e.g. example (65)) require all secondary school children to receive instruction and complete ASSESSMENT (e.g. example (76)) in English. And much like Swahili's roles in primary school, the roles assigned to English in secondary school go largely unchallenged. Parents overwhelmingly accept and work with them as structural social realities and in discourse, this can be observed when parents are challenged to consider greater roles for Malila and Swahili in the education system. Most reject LoI changes citing a discourse of DISPLACEMENT that would result in their children being ill-prepared for ASSESSMENT where they must write high-stakes examinations in English.

Motivation for children to know English because of perceived benefits

connected to *Communicative Mobility* were shared by parents in the literature who favoured DLoIs through discourses of MOVEMENT (e.g. examples (47), (48), (49), (50) and (51)) and ISOLATION (e.g. examples (51), (65), (68) and (77)). When asking about the role of language in children's preferred futures, many parents construed stories of children who move away, become educated and travel abroad. The discourse builds on the **INSTRUMENTAL** benefits listed above to establish a more **INTEGRATIVE** benefit of WIDER CITIZENSHIP (e.g. example (63)) where children have grown up and are able to participate in a world larger than Tanzania—a world with greater opportunities.

As was construed for Swahili, the process of learning English was presented by parents as an activity that happens primarily in school, the only difference being there are no exceptions for English. It cannot be 'picked up' outside of the classroom. Some parents, however, believe that schools are not doing a good job of this and along with those in the literature, argue for a solution through an EARLIER-THE-BETTER (e.g. example (76)) discourse that would see Swahili instruction in primary school supplanted with English instruction. This discourse works together with an IMMERSION discourse.

In the same way parents established learning Swahili as a core function of primary school, learning English is construed as the core function of secondary school. The international identity attached to English and the priority placed on attaining it, however, transforms secondary schools into outposts of an entity larger than just Tanzania but rather the world beyond it.

6.2 A Malila Family Language Policy

Specific discourses related to language learning motivations and language learning practices were respectively discussed in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2. Building on those findings and the construals of languages in section 5.1, I propose the elements below as part of an informal Malila FLP. It should be pointed out that this is an ideological policy and not [necessarily] an actual one (i.e. practice as opposed to policy). The policy's impact on practice

would need to be studied through other, more observation-based research methods. Also, being that this policy is built on assumptions, the degree to which parents are aware of it (e.g. in it's application to their practices and preferences) is likely to be very low.

1. The languages necessary for Malila children to succeed in life are Malila, Swahili and English.
2. As it relates to Malila:
   (a) Malila should be passed on to children so they can maintain their Malila identity.
   (b) It is not necessary to teach children Malila—usage in the home by parents is sufficient for children to acquire it.
   (c) Malila should be used in conversations with other Malila speakers, especially when in Umalila. This keeps the language alive and avoids the appearance of arrogance.
   (d) As children become adults, they are encouraged to pursue livelihoods outside of Umalila where there are better prospects for economic mobility. This will require them to speak other languages and over time could result in the loss of Malila. As adults, they should try to retain enough of the language so they can return home and engage with family, friends and especially the elderly who may not be able (or comfortable) to speak other languages.
3. As it relates to Swahili:
   (a) Children should learn Swahili so that
      i. they are not confined geographically to Umalila;
      ii. they are not confined socially from interacting with other Tanzanians who do not know Malila;
      iii. they can learn content and take exams in primary school; and
      iv. they can transcend their Malila identity and integrate into a larger Tanzanian collective.
   (b) In order for children to learn Swahili,

i. parents should send them to primary school where they will learn it properly both through instruction and as a taught language; and

ii. parents should introduce it as early as possible before sending them to primary school. This will help to ease the transition from Malila at home to Swahili in the classroom.

iii. Children who are unable to attend school can pick up Swahili in Umalila from others, listening to the radio and watching television.[1] Children who learn Swahili in this way are not expected to have the same competence as those who learn it by attending school.

4. As it relates to English:

   (a) Children should learn English so that

      i. they are not confined geographically to Tanzania;

      ii. they are not confined socially from interacting with people from other countries;

      iii. they can learn content and take exams in secondary school;

      iv. they can transcend their Tanzanian identity and integrate with others internationally as global citizens; and

      v. they can have greater opportunities for economic mobility both within and without Tanzania.

   (b) In order for children to learn English,

      i. they must attend primary school where they might begin to learn it as a taught language, and

      ii. they must attend secondary school where they might learn it both through instruction and as a taught language.

I present the policy as representative of all the parents in this study and would confidently extend it to the rest of the Malila language community. And I would further argue that it is highly representative of other minoritised indigenous language communities in rural Tanzania (of course 'Malila' would

[1] Very few rural homes would have a television or electricity but people are able to gather and watch television in public market spaces.

need to be replaced by the appropriate language given the specific context). The policy is a strong reflection of the three tiers proposed by Rubagumya et al. (2011) discussed at the outset of this chapter for the way in which it affirms direct connections respectively between three linguistic identities and three levels of citizenship experiences. I equate these levels with levels of well-being which I model and discuss in section 6.3 below. It also reveals the tensions that engender an LoI debate, which I discuss next.

6.2.1 LoI: A Language Learning Quandary

Moving from policy to procedure is where parents' perspectives begin to shift and vary. Considering the extent to which parents attribute language learning to LoI and the high value they place on Malila, Swahili and English, it is not surprising that they find themselves in a quandary over the matter of LoI preference. Three voices of change could be heard in this study. First, there are parents who clearly want more Malila to be used for instruction but their endorsement for it is based on the language learning goals they have for Swahili. For example, they support using Malila as a scaffold in the classroom with young children when Swahili is a communication barrier. Otherwise, Swahili should be used as much and as soon as possible. And although parents recognise that children grasp content more easily in Malila, they also recognise that the current assessment scheme does not validate any knowledge expressed in Malila.

Second, there are parents who want to maintain Swahili instruction and bolster it further by extending it from primary to all years of secondary school. For them, English has proven to be little more than a barrier for their children to succeed on examinations. They support the current education policy which advances their goals but has otherwise failed to garner enough national support for its implementation. They still value English but concede that the results no longer justify the current LoI practices and would prefer that it be taught as a subject so their children can have a better chance at completing secondary school.

Third, there are parents who would like to see English instruction extended from secondary to primary school for either some or all of the curriculum.

Their rationale follows the logic that if English is the final gateway in the formal education system, then expose children to more of it and do it as early as possible. For them (and others), exposure is at its highest when a language is used for classroom instruction.

These three positions clearly reveal the value that parents (as a whole) in this study place on Malila, Swahili and English. It also demonstrates confusion about the relationship between LoI and language teaching/learning which has resulted in a competition between languages for the coveted space of LoI. This gives rise to the kind of dialectical relationships that can be seen, for example, between a discourse that espouses IMMERSION versus one that espouses MT SCAFFOLDING. Languages are prioritised by the benefits attached to them and while this is a dynamic process, English is consistently linked to the greatest rewards. Parents vie for its place as LoI through DISPLACEMENT and EARLIER-THE-BETTER discourses seen in the literature.

When Malila parents reject a given language for use in classroom instruction, I argue that in most cases, it is not a rejection of that language's value for instructional purposes but rather it is a rejection of that language's value for their children's future livelihood and therefore, its overall benefit as an LoI. This can be demonstrated more clearly by considering how it is that parents connect languages to quality of life and well-being.

6.3 Language and Well-Being: Modelling a Belief System

The parents in this study and in the literature consistently and ideologically linked languages to specific perceived benefits for their children. These positions have thus far been categorised following Gardner and Lambert's (1972) distinction between instrumental and integrative language attitudes. Sen makes a very similar distinction when he describes the capability approach as seeing 'human life as a set of "doings and beings"—we may call them "functionings"—and it relates the evaluation of the quality of life to the assessment of the capability to function' (Sen 1990, p.43). Discourses that link instrumental benefits to language reveal positive attitudes towards what

people believe they can *do* if they know a given language. Discourses that link integrative benefits to language reveal positive attitudes towards what people believe they can *be* if they know a given language.

I have found it helpful to construct a conceptual model within which the discourses identified in this study can be evaluated in light of the kinds of capabilities they represent.

6.3.1 Representing Opportunity Freedoms

Important to this research is the manner in which quality of life is understood in terms of capabilities and the opportunity freedoms that result from a given capability set. In figure 6.1 the circle represents a container that holds all of the opportunities I have the freedom to achieve.

At birth I emerge at the centre of my world of opportunities: y. The distance from the centre to the outer edge represents a continuum of how robust those opportunities are. For example, at the centre I have the capability to eat but at the outer edge, I have the capability to eat in a Michelin star restaurant. The outer edge represents what I shall call my capability horizon. It is the point at which I perceive the limits of my capabilities to fall. For example, the capability to eat at Buckingham Palace on dates of my choosing would lie beyond my capability horizon.

Possible trajectories and positions I might realise as functionings are respectively represented by the arrows and their resulting points at a, b and c. Because distance from the centre is proportionate to the robustness or richness of specific opportunities that I might seize upon, it is also indicative of the extent of well-being that I feel. For example, b represents a more desirable position than c but less desirable than a. Distance to the outer edge from a given position is perceived as unrealised opportunities so I would feel less accomplished at c than I would at b. Of the three trajectories and positions, a would give me the greatest sense of accomplishment and well-being.

Sen (1995) discusses the notion of conversion within the capability approach as an important factor in appreciating how inequality arises across

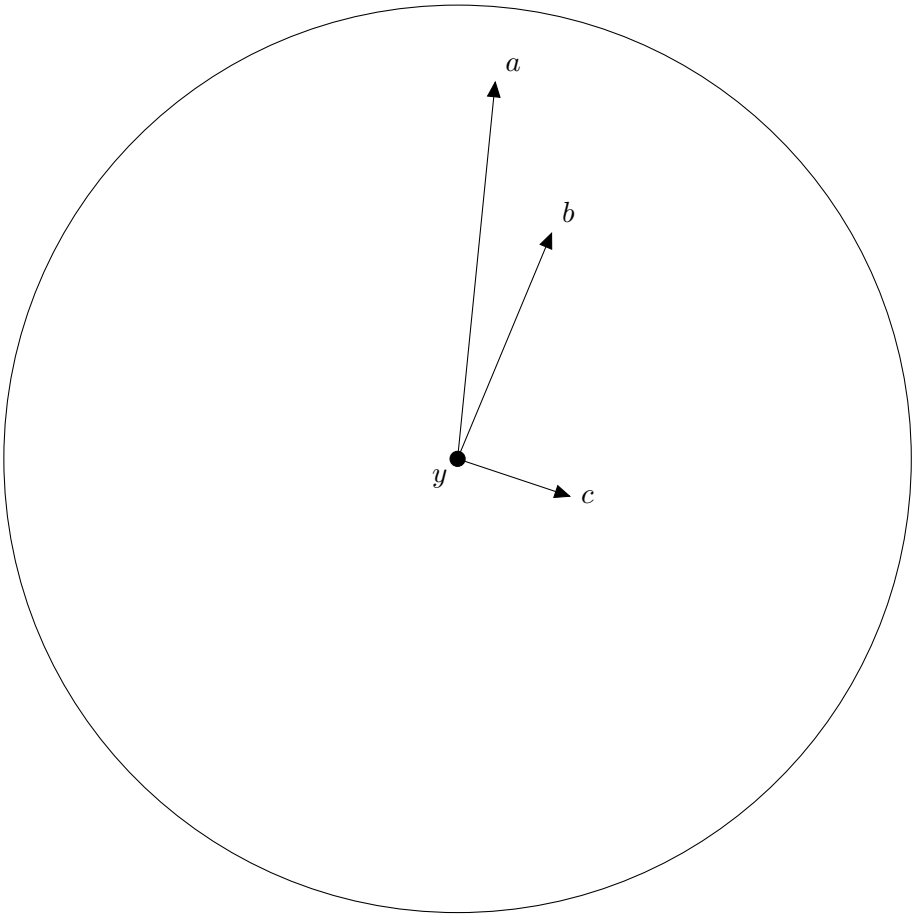

FIGURE 6.1: Mapping Functionings onto Opportunity Freedoms

individuals with access to similar resources. For example, an individual's level of education plays a profound role in their ability to convert resources into real opportunities (Robeyns 2005). In this model, education is viewed more as an essential conversion factor (i.e. as opposed to a valued capability) in moving one outward from the centre where opportunities are fewer and less robust into spaces where there are a greater number of and more robust opportunities (implicit in the model is the passage of time as one moves along a given trajectory). Sen, describing this core function of education, suggests that

> the ability to exercise freedom may, to a considerable extent, be directly dependent on the education we have received, and thus

> the development of the educational sector may have a foundational connection with the capability-based approach. (Sen 1990, p.55)

Sen further distinguishes this core function of education into four roles that contribute to i.) productivity, ii.) better income distribution, iii.) the conversion of resources into capabilities, and iv.) more informed life choices.

6.3.2 Malila Tiered Belief System

Building on the model in figure 6.1, it is possible to represent a system of beliefs about language-in-education that is consistent with the discursive practices of the interviewees and the kinds of social realities they construed. It is important to emphasize that the model captures a very narrow set of data and as such represents the beliefs communicated to me by a specific group of people at specific point in time in a specific context. Unique constraints on the interviewees must also be considered. These include but are not limited to having to speak Swahili, being interviewed by a foreigner, meeting in a somewhat formal school setting, and navigating the sensitivities of discussing matters that have been the source of much controversy in Tanzanian educational policies. This begs the question, then, of the value in constructing such a model. I would argue that although the model may not be generalisable to other Tanzanian indigenous communities or even the broader Malila community, it has important value in drawing attention to beliefs about language-in-education that this research has shown to exist in diverse global contexts. Such beliefs need to be considered by language planners, especially those involved in language development efforts aimed at indigenous, minoritised language communities elsewhere in Tanzania and the world.

Returning to the model in figure 6.1 then, the Malila world of opportunities that parents presented is similar but divided into three tiers by two well-defined capability horizons. The three circles in figure 6.2 depict the three-tiered citizenship proposed by Rubagumya et al. (2011). The inner tier represents semi-citizens, the middle tier represents Tanzanian citizens and the outer tier represents global citizens. People are aware of the capability horizons as well as the capabilities that each tier affords and they faithfully

uphold them in discourse as 'common-sense' knowledge about the social world. Both the horizons and the tiers are highly idealised as can be seen in statements such as, 'You can't go anywhere with Malila,' or, 'You can go anywhere with English.'

One must transit the tiers as they move outward into well-being since each tier opens up access to different, more robust educational, geographical, identity-based and linguistic capability sets. Failure to transit the tiers results in missed opportunities exclusively available in each one. And because the tiers are defined by language, transiting them essentially becomes a matter of language learning, which can only happen [properly] in school.

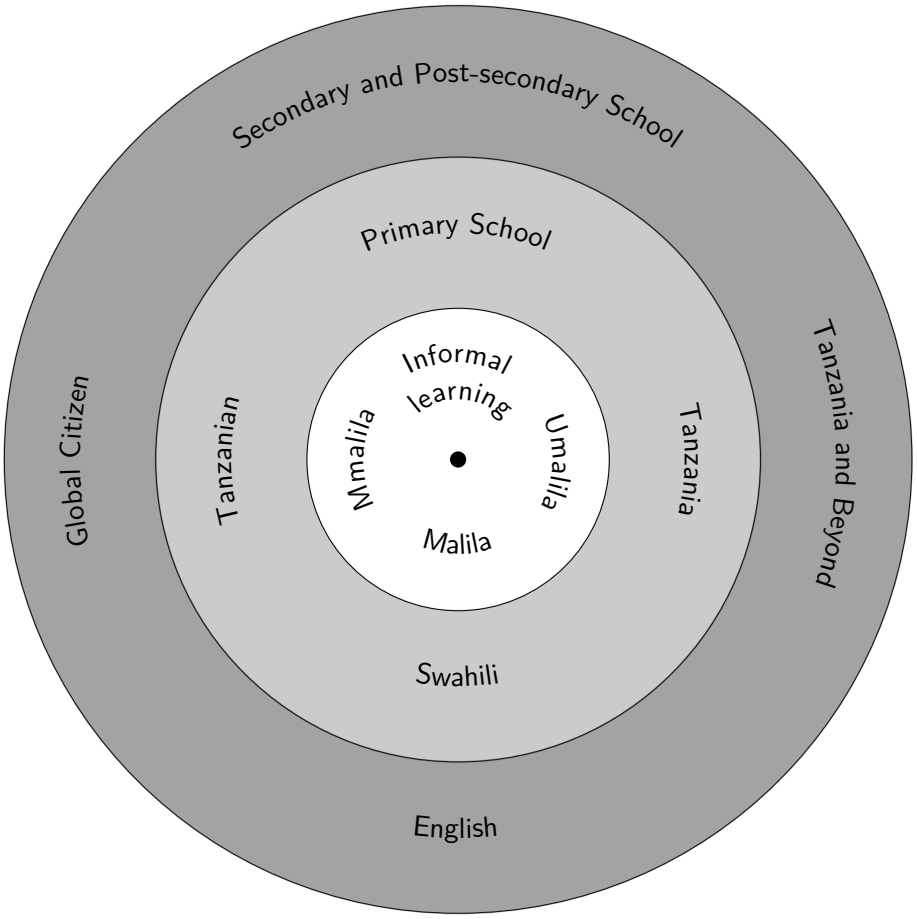

FIGURE 6.2: Malila Capability Tiers

Turning now to the capability sets parents discursively attached to language, I discuss them across the tiers, rather than within the tiers.

Educational Capabilities

Educational capabilities describe various opportunities for learning that are both formal and informal. In figure 6.2 they are [arbitrarily] represented along the 'twelve o'clock' position of the diagram. The kind of learning available to semi-citizens in the inner tier is viewed as more traditional and less formal. It may, for example, take place at home or in the community. There is no established curriculum or recognition by the state for this learning. Nonetheless, knowledge, skills and attitudes acquired in this tier are important for participation in the local context, especially for securing jobs in the trades (e.g. carpentry, tailoring, welding, mechanics, etc.). There is no designated LoI for learning at this level; however, parents reported that Malila dominates informal education at home and in the community.

At the middle tier, formal educational capabilities are largely comprised of those afforded through Tanzania's Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Vocational Training, more specifically, the full program of primary school. At the time of this research there were no English-medium primary schools (neither government nor private); therefore, all Malila children in local primary schools would receive instruction in Swahili. Other educational capabilities are available to Tanzanian citizens through trade schools, religious institutions, open learning programs, NGOs, etc. These normally require the completion of primary school. Access to primary school learning opportunities is not dependent on any other prior learning.

Secondary and post-secondary educational capabilities lie in the outer tier as part of a global citizenship. They are provided by both the state and private institutions but also include opportunities to travel and study abroad. These capabilities are dependent on educational functionings from the middle tier.

Educational capabilities are unique in that while they are associated with a given tier, they initially become available in the tier below them. This is why I prefer the term 'outposts' to describe schools. They give citizens from one tier an experience that is both with and in the next tier—an important movement beyond one's capability horizon. As outposts, schools should reflect the tier they represent, not the tier in which they are placed. I would

argue that LoI plays a central role in establishing this reflection.

Geographical Capabilities

Geographical capabilities, represented along the 'three o'clock' position of figure 6.2, describe the physical places where individuals can go or take up residence in terms of who they can successfully communicate with. While an individual from the Malila-speaking region could theoretically travel just about anywhere, the richness of travel opportunities beyond the Malila-speaking region is connected to that individual's ability to communicate with others, especially those who don't speak Malila.

At the inner tier, semi-citizens have opportunities to move about and communicate inside the Malila language community's geographical borders. In the model, this is represented by ***Umalila*** 'the Malila region'. Interviewees regularly used this term to refer to that part of Tanzania inhabited by those who identify ethnically as Malila and who speak the Malila language. This practice is consistent throughout the country. Ethnic groups in Tanzania are well aware of their territorial boundaries and they use the same linguistic strategy to label ethnic regions. This practice is particularly interesting since within Tanzania, historically there has been no official recognition of indigenous ethnic groups or the lands where they reside.

At the middle tier, Tanzanian citizens have opportunities to leave Umalila and travel anywhere in Tanzania and various parts of East Africa. These opportunities, however, are limited to places where Swahili can be used to interact with others and participate in their societies. Proficiency in Swahili dictates the level of engagement one can have outside of Umalila.

Opportunities to travel beyond Tanzania and participate in societies where Swahili is not spoken lie within the outer tier for global citizens. These opportunities are available only to those who have sufficient proficiency in English.

It should be noted that in the model, geographical capabilities can also refer to opportunities to interact with people from other parts of Tanzania and the world who lack proficiency in the Malila language. In this sense,

these opportunities are not just about travelling but also about travellers.

Identity-based Capabilities

Identity-based capability sets in the model, represented along the 'nine o'clock' position, have to do with how one perceives their citizenship and the opportunities that come with different 'citzenships' (i.e. identities). 'Citizenship' in this context captures the extent of belonging and participation one feels capable of within specific geo-political entities. It addresses the extent to which a person sees themselves as an insider or an outsider within a given locale. It also addresses the extent to which one has opportunity to affect social structures and practices as agents within a given locale (i.e. through either support or disruption).

The inner tier provides capabilities for people to see themselves as ***Mmalila*** 'a Malila person' (or in its plural form, ***Wamalila*** 'Malila people'). Again, I prefer the Swahili terms parents used as this is a very important concept and a ubiquitous strategy across Tanzanian indigenous communities. The class 1 prefix ***m-*** (and its plural form from class 2 ***wa-***) affixed to ***-malila*** (or other names such as ***-nyakyusa***, ***-sangu***, ***-vwanji***, ***-bena***, etc.) derives the name into an ethnonym which denotes a person (or people) of Malila ethnicity. And in the same way the state does not officially recognise geographical boundaries of indigenous communities, neither the communities themselves nor their languages have official recognition or position as ethnic groups within the state. The social practice of ethnic groups to name themselves and the places they occupy, however, is ubiquitous. An individual who identifies as Mmalila (and is accepted by the Malila community as Mmalila) would be afforded opportunities to participate in (or reject) social structures that are owned by the Malila community. Malila 'citizenship' then, is defined and sustained locally. A Malila identity, however, does have standing beyond the immediate community since other ethnic communities recognise and follow the social practice of defining themselves. And it has been demonstrated, maintaining links to one's community is an important part of social life, even for global citizens in Tanzania.

The middle tier is the space where people identify with the nation-state;

the United Republic of Tanzania. Citizenship in this tier comes with opportunities to vote in federal elections, participate in the political arena, either locally or higher up, secure government jobs and competently access government services such as health care, education, justice and administration. I would argue, however, from parents' discursive practices—which mostly from their position as Tanzanian citizens—that agency at this level of citizenship is limited. Many see themselves as the recipients of decisions handed down to them as was evidenced in a discursive strategy of defending social practices with the policies that bore them (e.g. 'One must teach in Swahili because it's the national language.') or resisting one policy change because of its impact on another (e.g. 'Children cannot be instructed in Malila because they won't be able to write their exams in Swahili.').

The outer tier is an extension of the middle tier in that it captures more robust versions of similar identity capabilities in the middle tier. For example it could be the difference between political participation at the village level versus district, regional or national levels. The outer tier also captures capabilities that further develop one's sense of global citizenship and international identity. For example these might involve accessing foreign jobs or studying abroad but it could also just be a sense of feeling cosmopolitan. Parents did not speak directly to agency at this tier but many construed their children as having the greatest amount of freedom to be and do whatever they want if they could reach it. It does, however, beg the question of one's freedom to choose their identity with the perception that certain identities come with too great a cost to capabilities.

Linguistic Capabilities

Linguistic capabilities are represented along the 'six o'clock' position in the diagram. These include opportunities to learn, understand, read, write and speak different languages. The inner, middle and outer tiers afford these capabilities related to the Malila, Swahili and English languages respectively.

Within each tier, the educational, geographic, identity-based and linguistic capability sets are mutually inclusive. The linguistic capabilities are unique, however, since parents construed them as compulsory for the

others. For example, someone with competencies in Swahili may or may not value educational, geographic or identity-based capabilities associated with Tanzanian citizens but without Swahili, those capabilities are unavailable. In this sense, language can function as both a gateway and a barrier to the next tier. The three-tier citizenship of Rubagumya et al. captures this central role of language in that semi-citizens must speak Malila (or another indigenous language), Tanzanian citizens must speak Swahili and global citizens must speak English.

6.3.3 Mapping Malila Life Trajectories

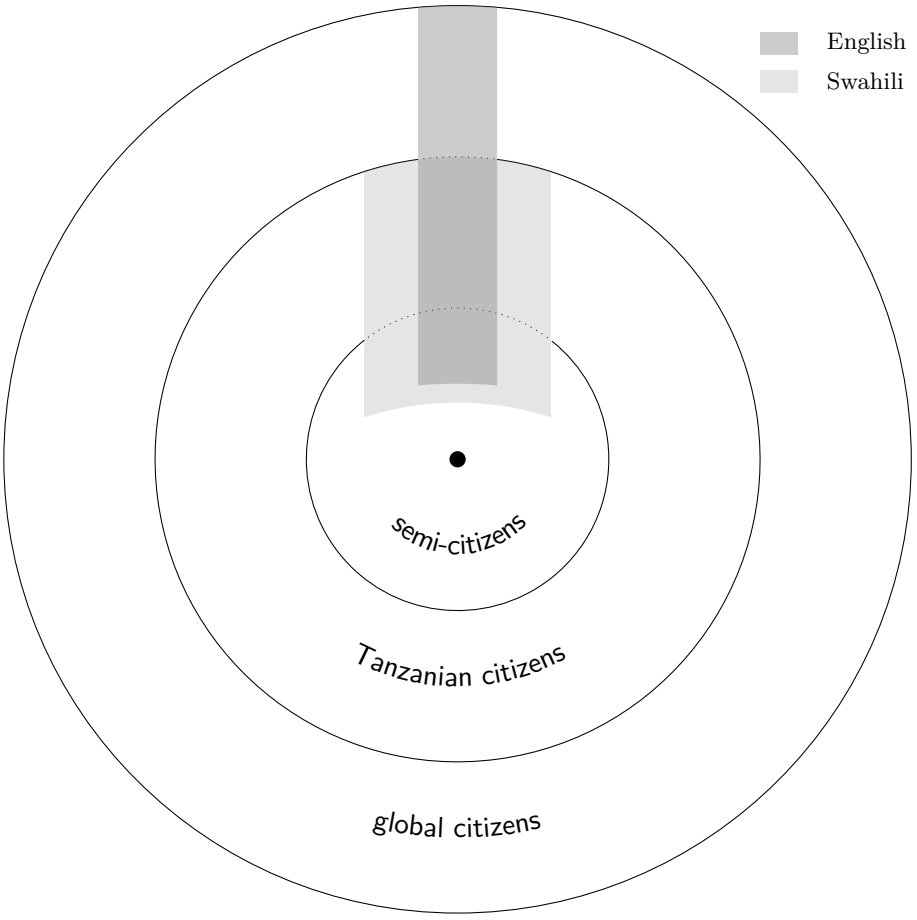

FIGURE 6.3: Language Gateways

In figure 6.3, opportunities for learning Swahili play a key role in expanding one's capabilities from the inner to the middle tier. By bringing

Swahili into the inner tier, primary schools have become the main vehicle for accessing the middle tier. Similarly, opportunities for learning English play a key role in expanding one's capabilities to the outer tier. Some of this happens in primary school (where English is taught as a subject) but most happens in secondary and post-secondary schooling where English is the LoI. In the model, the width of the language 'gateways' indicates the accessibility of language learning opportunities for Swahili and English. There is a wider path into the middle tier but the path into the outer tier is narrow (i.e. there are less opportunities and/or it is more difficult to successfully learn English).

Education, then, gives passage between the tiers and language learning becomes a primary function of school. And considering that language learning is perceived to be an intrinsic function of LoI, one can appreciate the apprehension parents have towards any changes that could, from their perspective, close important gateways for their children's advancement in life. It is in this sense that schools serve as outposts where one can have contact with and advance from the inner tier to the middle and outer tiers.

In figure 6.4 it is possible to plot various life trajectories and positions (functionings) that individuals from the Malila community could potentially realise.

a represents a highly desirable trajectory where one seizes upon the full Swahili and English learning opportunities provided through the current educational program. This could be characterised by someone who successfully completed an internationally accredited post-secondary education within or without Tanzania.

b represents a slight deviation from the ideal path where the opportunities for learning English were not completely realised. This could be characterised by someone who finished form six or form four.

c is an even greater deviation from the ideal path. It represents someone who realised all of the formal opportunities to learn Swahili but was not successful enough in English to become a global citizen. It could be someone who went as far as form two or form four.

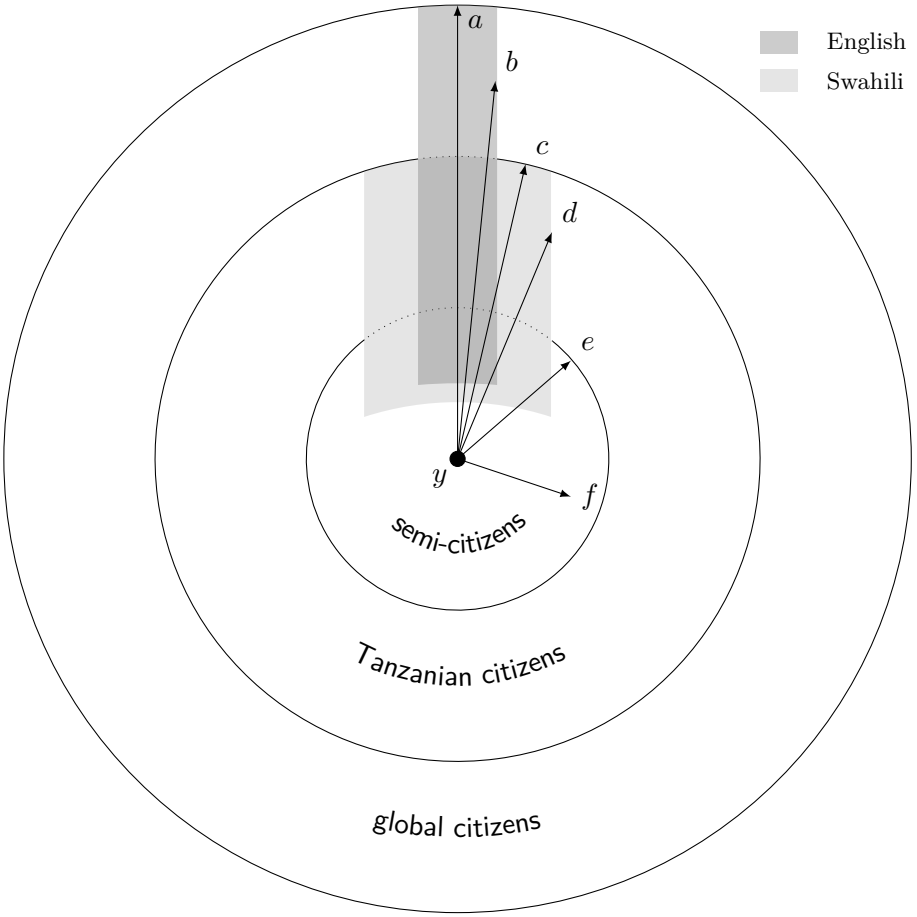

FIGURE 6.4: Life Trajectories

d is the most common trajectory and position in Tanzania. It represents those who have had exposure to formal Swahili instruction and learning but achieved minimal or no proficiency in English. It is indicative of someone who finished primary school but had no or minimal secondary school education. *d* is highly characteristic of the research participants and therefore, this model represents their beliefs.

e represents someone who may have participated in nursery, pre-primary or early primary but did not complete primary school. They lack the competence in Swahili to access opportunities from the middle tier.

f demonstrates the trajectory and position of someone who never received any formal schooling. In the past, *e* and *f* would have been common for

people (especially women) in rural contexts.

In this belief system, a person's citizenship experience is ultimately defined by their linguistic competencies. Language becomes the key that unlocks greater opportunities for well-being and it not only serves as a pathway into a better life but also as a pathway out of what would otherwise be a bad one. From an economic perspective, acquiring Swahili and English are viewed as essential steps in moving out of poverty. It becomes clear that while Malila parents deeply value functionings only available in the inner tier—functionings connected to their identity and local social structures—they are not satisfied for their children to live as semi-citizens. And because citizenship is oriented towards the state, a semi-citizen is also a semi-foreigner and a Malila identity on its own constitutes a position that is, on one hand, physically in the state and subject to it, but on the other, socially and politically outside of it. I maintain that the limitations of being semi-citizens, or rather the educational, geographical, linguistic and identity-based capability horizon associated with the inner tier is what parents are rejecting when they reject Malila as an LoI for their children.

In considering this belief system both through CDA and the capability apporach, it emerges as a case of hegemony in the former and inequality in the latter. State social structures have obscured and suppressed Tanzania's rich ethnolinguistic diversity in politics and education. Indigenous languages are not recognised officially, they are unavailable in government services, there is no national support for their development, they are proscribed from the curriculum in educational policies and children who use them in school can expect punishment. The state's position communicates that indigenous languages are of little value beyond their permitted use in unofficial, local contexts. Fairclough, summarising Gramsci (1971), describes hegemony as a conceptualisation of power that depends more 'upon achieving consent or at least acquiescence rather than just having the resources to use force, and the importance of ideology in sustaining relations of power' (Fairclough 2003, p.45). Of the three languages parents in this study value most, they demonstrate a willingness to sacrifice their own language ahead of Swahili and English. They admonish themselves for not doing a better job of introducing Swahili earlier to their children. Many are unwilling to endorse using Malila in the classroom and those who are, do so with the intent that it will help their

children learn Swahili. And as parents look to their preferred futures, they have already embraced a likelihood that their children will lose much of the Malila language. Parents' discursive practices, in their broadest application, are ideologically complementary with and so work to sustain the state's position on indigenous languages. None of the three perspectives/positions on LoI given above in section 6.2.1 would do much to improve the current state of affairs for indigenous languages in Tanzania. I argue, therefore, that the conditions for linguistic hegemony (in the Gramscian sense) have been met.

A perspective through the capability approach further reveals that if a Malila identity is indeed linked to semi-citizens—a construal of citizenship that lacks the possibility to achieve valued capabilities—then a case for inequality can be made. For example, someone who only speaks Malila would not be able to convert the same resources available to Swahili and/or English speakers (i.e. Tanzanian and global citizens) into real opportunities. Consequently, they must assume a different identity and language if they are to move beyond the tier of semi-citizens. From their own perspective, remaining within a Malila identity would limit their educational, geographical, linguistic and identity-based capability sets. These limitations result in a strong sense of missed opportunities and personal insecurity. This places the Malila identity (and very likely many other indigenous identities in Tanzania) in a position of inequality to other identities.

A question arises here as to what kind of inequality can be revealed by a research effort as linguistically oriented as the present study. Are there tangible injustices playing out in peoples' lives or is this an intangible 'discursive inequality'? CDA exists, in part, because discourses are taken to be social realities that become 'operationalised as strategies and implemented: enacted in changed ways (practices) of acting and interacting; inculcated in changed ways of being (identities); materialised in changes in material reality' (Fairclough 2013d, p.37). The parents in this study acted in particular ways and assumed particular identities. In the capability approach, one could say they were functioning (i.e. doing and being). As actors, they left their farms and participated in an interview. They spoke to an international visitor—a researcher—about a range of issues related to language and education and how LoI impacts their children. They assumed various identities: as parents,

as Wamalila, as Tanzanians, as farmers, as uneducated, as interviewees, as impoverished, as hopeful, etc. These particular functionings were highly discursive in nature (e.g. more so than other functionings such as farming, eating or travelling on a bus) making them well suited for linguistic investigation. Furthermore, the belief system presented above, is itself a particular way of (re)presenting those practices and identities (i.e. a recontextualisation) for the purposes of this research. But the question remains: does the model reflect reality? The critical realism that informs this study suggests that such a question cannot be answered since our ability to know reality (versus reality itself) is always under scrutiny. The value of such a model then, lies in its potential to provide insight into a social problem and contribute to a solution. For the critical realist, the extent to which that is possible is the extent to which the model approximates reality.

6.4 Valued Language Capabilities

Both the capability approach (Sen 1999; Nussbaum 2011; Robeyns 2006) and a theory of Linguistic Citizenship (Stroud 2001) place a high priority on the agency of communities in the design of development efforts intended to serve them. In the capability approach, Sen (2005) has been adamant about the benefits of 'public discussion, social agitation, and open debates' (p.160). He argues that in any effort to list valued capabilities, it is paramount 'to depend on the process of public reasoning' (p.163).

Sixty-one parents took part in 6 focus group discussions (FGDs) designed to elicit a list of valued capabilities connected to language. The FGDs aimed to provide parents with a space to talk freely about their interests and desires around language while keeping the constraints of policy, LoI and school curriculum [at least somewhat] in the background. This directly addresses the third research question:

Research Question 3: What are the valued linguistic capabilities that Malila parents have for their children?

Parents previously interviewed were invited to return to the FGDs along with others using the same criteria for the interview sampling. Thirty-seven

returned and 24 new parents joined them. The FGDs were held in the same 6 villages and at the same schools where the interviews were conducted. Parents were first tasked with identifying which languages were important for their children to know. They then divided themselves into groups to discuss their valued capabilities for each language.[2]

Parents were quick to establish that Malila, Swahili and English were the languages most important for their children. Collectively, all six groups produced a list of capabilities, which I give in table 6.1. Some language capabilities emerged in all 6 FGDs while others only emerged in 1 or 2. After each capability, I give the number of FGDs that provided it. This is not intended to be a weighting of a given capability's value but rather a crude indication of its prominence as a felt need in the community. For example, I would tend to have more confidence that a capability presented by all 6 groups was more representative than a capability presented by only 1. To mitigate this, at the end of each focus group, the capability lists from previous groups were presented and informally 'ratified'. The full list was established after 4 FGDs. The final 2 FGDs did not produce any new capabilities but they confirmed and endorsed the prior lists.

The capabilities address 9 domains of value that span across Malila, Swahili and English in different ways: i.) *Language learning* has to do with the ability to understand, speak, read and write in Malila, Swahili and English. ii.) *Access to knowledge* primarily speaks to the ability to attend school, learn and have educational mobility. In one way, I view this as an adaptive preference[3] since it appears to be dictated by social structures (e.g. LoI practices in schooling) but in another, I view it as connected to the belief that languages have differing degrees of lexical adequacy. For example, one might be more comfortable talking about local customs or traditional medicine in Malila but foreign customs or modern medicine in English. iii.) *Geographical and communicative mobility*, as discussed above in the three-tiered citizenship, describes the ability to travel to, live in, and communicate with people from other places. iv.) *Economic mobility*

[2]See chapter 4 for an explanation of the methodology, specifically sections 4.2 and 4.3.1 wich address sampling and FGDs respectively.

[3]Adaptive preferences are desires that have been adjusted to fit with one's circumstances. See Elster (1982) and Sen (1999) as well as the discussion in section 7.2.1.

TABLE 6.1: Malila Parents and their valued language capabilities

	Malila	Swahili	English
1. language learning	1a. understand, speak, read and write Malila (6)	1b. understand, speak, read and write Swahili (6)	1c. understand, speak, read and write English (6)
2. access to knowledge	2a. learn and contribute to indigenous knowledge (3)	2b. access to primary school (4)	2c. access to secondary school (4)
3. geographical and communicative mobility	3a. travel and engage others within the Malila community (3)	3b. travel and engage others within East Africa (6)	3c. travel and engage others internationally (6)
4. economic mobility	4a. qualify for job opportunities that require Malila (2)	4b. qualify for job opportunities that require Swahili (1)	4c. qualify for job opportunities that require English (6)
5. language and culture sharing	5a. share Malila language and culture with outsiders (3)	5b. share Swahili language and culture with outsiders (1)	5c. –
6. relationships	6a. have meaningful relationships within the Malila community (1)	6b. have meaningful relationships within East Africa (1)	6c. have meaningful international relationships (1)
7. personal security	7a. avoid harm within the Malila community (1)	7b. avoid harmful travel within and safely use products from East Africa (2)	7c. avoid harmful international travel and safely use imported products (5)
8. intergenerational language transmission	8a. successfully pass on Malila to the next generation (2)	8b. successfully pass on Swahili to the next generation (1)	8c. –
9. identity	9a. identify as Malila (4)	9b. identify as Tanzanian (2)	9c. have a a global identity (3)

provides the ability to secure employment that otherwise would not be available without specific languages. For example, occupations in the local market place demand Malila while jobs outside of Umalila requiring social interaction would be difficult to fill without Swahili or English. v.) *Language and culture sharing* describes the ability to promote and draw others into the citizenship experience connected to different languages. This was most prominent for Malila, significantly less for Swahili and non-existent for English. I suggest that the desire to share language and culture is connected to the level of ownership felt towards a given language and culture. vi.) The ability to have *relationships* with others is an extension of communicative mobility as it moves beyond mere linguistic interaction to describe what those interactions can produce (e.g. friendships, partnerships, marriages, etc.). vii.) *Personal security* is a concern for the ability to stay physically, mentally and emotionally safe. It was expressed in two ways. One had to do with understanding the labelling on products and signs whereas the other had to do with knowing what people were saying to you or about you. viii.) *Intergenerational language transmission*[4] has similarities to language and culture sharing but is more specific and intentional. The audience is Malila children and reception of the language is guaranteed. But again, ownership appears to be a factor since no capability was specified in this domain for English. Implicit in and deeply important to this capability is the ability to maintain language and culture. ix.) Lastly, *identity* capabilities related to Malila, Swahili and English are those expressed above in the three-tiered citizenship.

With a general understanding of parents' discursive behaviour patterns related to language and language learning in conjunction with a list of their valued language capabilities, consideration can be given to the fourth research question. I begin with parents' discursive practices that have a potential to undermine their own valued language capabilities. For practical considerations, I focus the discussion on capabilities for Malila only. I then look more broadly at all of the valued capabilities against the background of a three-tiered citizenship.

Research Question 4: What are the potential links between parents' beliefs

[4] I borrow this term from Lewis and Simons (2010).

about languages and language learning, their preferences for specific LoIs, and capability expansion for themselves and their children?

With the view that Swahili and English are gateways into better lives, parents have prioritised language learning as one of the most important deliverables in basic education. I argued above that parents are justified in having the reasonable expectation that using a language for instruction should produce higher levels of competency in that language (i.e. as opposed to exclusively teaching it as a subject); however, I also argue that parents in this study have mistakenly come to believe that any language teaching not complemented by instruction in the target language is inadequate. Construed in this way, LoI becomes a highly competitive space in a three-tiered citizenship. And as long as parents believe that English knowledge is essential to leading the kind of life they value, it will be difficult to disrupt any practices they view as helping their children to learn it. So although parents expressed a clear desire for capabilities in three languages, their discursive practices reveal not only differences in the way those languages are valued but also a willingness to make concessions for some languages (e.g. Swahili and/or English) at the cost of others (e.g. Malila and/or Swahili). The most negative consequences from this fall on parents' valued capabilities for Malila. For example, consider capabilities 1a, 2a, 5a and 8a—capabilities that require Malila to be further developed and have a literate population base. Three discourses related to English, all of which were seen in the literature from parents in other contexts, pose serious obstacles to creating those capabilities: IMMERSION, DISPLACEMENT and EARLIER-THE-BETTER. The ideologies driving these discourses work textually to establish 'common-sense' thinking that sees little need for Malila to be formally taught. This is exacerbated still further by the discourse that Malila is neither learned nor taught but rather a language that people are born with (see section 5.2.2).

For those who appear to be advocating for Malila in the classroom through a discourse of MT SCAFFOLDING, they work against the expansion of other capabilities for Malila in at least two ways. First, the discourse only supports teaching with Malila as a 'crutch' when communication in other languages breaks down. This disregards the full range of benefits available from MTE in an MLE program—some of which emerged in the discursive practices of parents in the literature (see table 3.5). Second, it takes a

highly instrumental view of the Malila language in education and in doing so, indirectly affirms that Malila is less valuable than other languages. This lower status ascribed to Malila is already supported through non-default labels used to index the language. Referring to it as ***kilugha*** 'dialect/local language' is one way parents diminished Malila's status. Also, a reference to a more substantial form of Malila by one parent as ***lugha ya zamani*** 'old language' revealed a discourse that construed it as being a richer language in the past with a much larger lexicon versus what is spoken today. Some fear the language could eventually be lost altogether.

I would also make the case that two attributes have been colonised by Swahili in discourse and their lack of availability to indigenous languages like Malila, has a disparaging effect. First, the non-default label for Swahili, ***lugha ya taifa*** 'language of the nation', reveals various discourses that link Swahili to Tanzania in unique ways. One of these construes it as a powerful force of national unity and in a discourse where unity is advanced and upheld by one language, it stands to reason that other languages threaten its role and therefore, unity itself. Swahili has become viewed as the solution to a problem of linguistic diversity in Tanzania and in this one nation-one language ideal, multilingualism is viewed as more of a liability than it is as an asset. The disparaging effect on indigenous languages like Malila is that where they cannot be linked to unity, they are subsequently linked to disunity and political unrest. Second, Swahili is construed in discourse as Tanzania's language. In the same way one couples English with England, French with France, and German with Germany; Swahili (and Swahili alone) is matched with Tanzania. Ownership of the language belongs to the state and the Tanzanian people but only as a united whole. This social reality is something that Tanzanians celebrate and it has been the envy of neighbouring states plagued with inter-ethnic conflict; however, the discourses that sustain it work ideologically to suppress difference. The state does very little to recognise indigenous communities and their languages. In terms of unity and national identity, Swahili has been discursively elevated to a place of royalty but it casts a long shadow on the country's indigenous languages. Considering capability 9a in light of Swahili as a badge of nationhood and unity in Tanzania, there is little space left beyond the local community for one to work out their indigenous identity.

Further to the matter of spaces, parents discursively restrict where their language can operate to a very narrowly-defined geographical area. They could consider other spaces available to them (e.g. Internet, radio, social media and Malila community hubs are other spaces that could serve a Malila diaspora or anyone interested in the language and culture) as a way to expand all of the valued capabilities for Malila. Discursive practices that define where Malila can and cannot be spoken also tend to restrict it from the classroom, not only for the reasons stated above but also as a reflection of a long-standing policy that proscribes indigenous languages from formal education.

One other discourse that needs to be considered in light of parents' valued capabilities for Malila is the narrative that describes a child's journey into a successful livelihood (i.e well-being). As parents imagined their children's preferred futures, they construed a scenario where children were educated and had gainful employment; however, they no longer lived in Umalila and had lost most or all of the Malila language. Parents differed in how they viewed this loss. Some were angry while others accepted it out of resignation. Many just stated it as a matter-of-fact without commentary. Most seem willing to tolerate it in light of the perceived gains for their children. They all, however, maintained hope that some Malila would be retained—at least enough for greetings during future visits 'back home'. This discourse reveals the ubiquitous and poignant belief that there are insufficient opportunities for children to lead the kind of lives in Umalila that parents desire for them. The discourse also engenders the idea that those who remain in Umalila with a Malila identity were underachievers. For example, a Tanzanian who is unsuccessful in school and remains in the village as a farmer may be labelled ***mshamba*** 'country bumpkin' (more literally 'field person') by those who see themselves as more successful. This discourse of pursuing well-being outside of Umalila vigorously affirms the notion of a semi-citizen tier as proposed by Rubagumya et al.

A great deal more could be said about parents' discursive practices and how they impact their valued capabilities for Swahili and English. For example, discourses that successfully oppose opportunities to implement MTE and MLE prevent parents and children from realising significant benefits for foreign language acquisition—benefits which studies have shown to result

from those programs (e.g. Heugh 2014; Heugh 2013; Malone 2007; Kosonen, C. Young and Malone 2006; Walter and Chuo 2012; S. Taylor and Coetzee 2013). What I want to argue here, however, is that parents are perpetuating ideologies in discourse that work against their own valued language capabilities, especially those that they hold for Malila. But what, if any, links are there between parents' discursive behaviour and capability expansion? I further argue that parents are taken up with accessing the capabilities of others (e.g. global citizens, the elite, people in other places/countries) moreso than they are with creating capabilities for themselves, their children and their community within their own context. This can be demonstrated by considering the list of valued capabilities in table 6.1 and asking, if all of those capabilities were established, what would it mean for the three-tiered citizenship? How do they address the inequality faced by semi-citizens? It becomes clear that the capabilities parents presented were imagined within the purview of, and therefore, constrained by a three-tiered citizenship. For example, in the FGDs, no one expressed interest in opportunities that would expand capabilities and well-being for people who wish to pursue their Malila identity and a livelihood in Umalila. Parents, then, are more focused on transiting the tiers and repositioning themselves to access capabilities than making capabilities associated with one tier available in others. It can also be argued that education policies and the current LoI practices complement and reflect the tiers. As outposts, schools reach into the Malila world and provide a gateway through language into a Tanzanian and/or a global world. It is a program that I would characterise as 'assimilation' versus 'integration' or going further along that continuum, 'empowerment' where a greater emphasis is placed on critical-thinking and agency. In Sen's view of development as freedom, he positions the state into a supportive role that strengthens people's agency:

> The ends and means of development call for placing the perspective of freedom at the centre of the stage. The people have to be seen, in this perspective, as being actively involved—given the opportunity—in shaping their own destiny, and not just as passive recipients of the fruits of cunning development programs. The state and the society have extensive roles in strengthening and safeguarding human capabilities. This is a supporting role, rather than one of ready-made delivery. (Sen 1999, p.53)

Considering its focus on social problems, the matter of agency also figures importantly in a CDA framework. Studies in grammatical transitivity, for example, can do much to reveal how people textually position themselves and others in different verb processes (see Haliday and Matthiessen 2014). This study has focused on representations of language and language learning but more work needs to be done in the area of agency, specifically how parents position themselves and their children in educational processes and decision-making. I was intentional to avoid this as an explicit topic in my interactions with parents out of concern that the study could be construed as politically subversive; however, two parents took the liberty to voice their opinions without solicitation. When I asked Gervas if he had heard anything in the news about the LoI debate in Tanzania, he replied that he had heard of the new policy to use Swahili in secondary school but this seemed to trigger a reaction to the manner in which decisions are handed down to his community and the implications for his daughter.

(1) ***Wangekuwa wanatushirikisha wangesikia na sisi mawazo yetu tunasemaje kwamba lugha za kufundishia ziwe lugha gani. Sasa kwa sababu tunashindwa mahali pakupitishia na sisi wenyewe mawazo yetu, ndiyo basi, ijapokuwa wao mkazo wao wanasema lugha ya kufundishia iwe kiswahili, wengine wanasema mpaka iwe kiingereza. Sasa tunaona wanapotosha jamii. . . . Sasa hivi ukiangalia kwenye masekondari unakuta masomo yote lugha ya kufundishia ni kiingereza. Sasa hii tunaona jamii inakokwenda, itapotoshwa kwasababu lugha asilia inapotea kabisa. Huyu mtoto atakapoenda kule atasahau kabisa lugha asilia. Kitu ambacho sasa kizazi kinachokuja kitapotea. Kitapotea kabisa. Hasa tunashindwa wapi tupelekee, wapi mawazo yetu tuyapitie kwa sababu tunakuwa hatuna namna, hatuna mahali wapi mawazo yetu wanaweza wakachukua. Basi sasa tunasikia kwenye vyombo vya habari tunakuwa hatuna namna, hatuna uwezo kwamba mawazo yetu tungeyapeleka.*** (3.11:145440:188)

'If they would involve us they would hear our thoughts and what we're saying about which languages should be used for instruction. Now,

> because we don't have a place to share our ideas, that's all there is to it, even though they stress that Swahili should be the language of instruction, and others go further in saying it should be English. So we see that they are misleading the community. ... Right now if you look at secondary schools you'll find all the subjects are being taught in English. We see where the community is headed and it'll be lost because the indigenous language is completely going. When this child goes off to study she will completely forget the indigenous language. This is something that will be lost completely for the next generation. It will be lost completely. Ultimately we are at a loss as to where to send our ideas because we don't have a mechanism, we don't have a place where they can take our ideas. So we hear the news outlets and there's nothing we can do, we don't have the ability to send our ideas.'

Gervas' comments reveal a clear need to evaluate the extent to which the Malila community are able to participate in the development and design of their children's education. Furthermore, the list of capabilities parents provided in the FGDs also reveal a need for greater technical support as they work out the kinds of things they want their children to be able to be and do. (Admittedly, they were left to come up with a list of capabilities on their own—a practice that would not be supported in a CA paradigm but a strategy I defend in chapter 4 in the context of this study.) Dutcher (2001) describes three different sources of motivation for the development of innovative MTE programs where change can be driven from 'the top, the bottom, or the side' (p.24). Government is at the top, grass-roots community initiatives come from the bottom, and the side represents donor organizations, NGOs, the academic community, development projects and other interested parties. I would suggest that support from all three sources become prescriptive for language development efforts since 'communities acting alone may not often possess the necessary expertise' (Rubagumya et al. 2011, p.79) nor be aware of the possibilities available to them.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

In this chapter I have presented important social realities with which Malila parents must grapple as they consider the roles of Malila, Swahili and English in their children's education and [future] well-being. These social realities are well-established in parents' discursive practices from which it has been possible to draw out an FLP that represents the community's position on what languages matter, why they matter and where they can be obtained. Considering this through the CA makes it very clear that parents attach specific capabilities uniquely to Malila, Swahili and English—ways of being and doing that are essential in order to move both outward and upward from a social position that seems to offer little promise in terms of fulfilling their well-being goals. Parents believe then, that linguistic capabilities support life trajectories into more robust educational, geographic and identity-based capabilities but they also define thresholds along those trajectories. Arguing from a perspective of Linguistic Citizenship, Rubagumya et al. (2011) propose that Tanzanians fall into three, inequitable groups of citizenship based on their language repertoires. Assessing what people can be and do in this way aligns well with the CA and also clearly defines two thresholds which I have modelled in figure 6.2 above.

I locate the system of beliefs laid out in this chapter at the level of the 'actual' within a critical realist ontology (see section 2.1) and argue that it is largely responsible for the empirical support and rejection of specific LoIs and ultimately MTE. Whatever position parents take on the issue, they must reconcile their position with the social realities construed in this belief system (and upheld in discourse). And with that in mind, where it is the case that parents do support Malila instruction, I further argue that their reasoning is based primarily on an intent to help children traverse the first threshold by scaffolding them more quickly into Swahili. For MLE advocates, this is important because *both* support and rejection of Malila instruction are highly problematic for an MLE program in the Malila community. It is not the preferences that need to be addressed then but rather the belief system that engenders them. This requires a deeper ontological engagement at the level of the 'real' where issues of nationalism, elitism, globalisation and neoliberalism are driving linguistic hegemony. In the next chapter, I

make some recommendations that address the first of many steps needed to adequately tackle the research problem described in chapter one.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

At the heart of social research is a desire to understand the causes behind social behaviour and generate hypotheses that move towards explanations of why people do the things they do (Little 2004). In chapter two, I discussed the concept of a stratified ontology within critical realism and the possibility for one to 'descend' into causal mechanisms by tracing the empirical to the actual and the actual to the real. These three levels respectively relate to experiences, events and causal mechanisms (Bhaskar 2008). In this study I have been able to work with empirical data in the form of texts provided by parents through semi-structured interviews and establish plausible links into the deeper structures that engendered them. In this concluding chapter I first discuss the study's specific contributions. In the second section I address implications from the findings and make four key policy recommendations. This is followed by a discussion of research limitations in the third section and then final remarks.

7.1 Contribution to Knowledge

This study's foremost contribution to knowledge has been to identify the social impact of a troubling strategy whereby parents in a vulnerable community pursue alternate linguistic identities for their children in order to achieve well-being. This was accomplished by considering parents' talk about language-in-education in a transdisciplinary way that combines critical theories (CDA and FLP) with theories of social justice (the CA and Linguistic Citizenship). In the previous chapters, I have demonstrated that parents' support and rejection of Malila, Swahili and English as LoIs for their primary school-aged children can be directly linked to their valued linguistic capabilities (and indirectly linked to other valued capabilities). Although their LoI preferences

vary, parents consistently look for opportunities for their children to make two 'progressive' language transitions: first, from Malila to Swahili and second, from Swahili to English. Each transition is believed to reposition children to achieve a unique and more robust set of capabilities. In this belief system, failure to make these transitions is failure to achieve well-being. What is most troubling about the strategy is the way in which it reinforces, both in discourse and in common sense, inadequacy at the point of origin where the Malila language, culture and region are upheld. This finding both affirms and is affirmed by a proposal put forward by Rubagumya et al. (2011) which describes 'three tiers' of citizenship for Tanzanians based on their linguistic repertoires. And because the tiers are delineated by language, it has has been possible to elaborate each tier by looking at the unique capabilities parents attached to Malila, Swahili and English in discourse. Where parents do not see the ability to establish capabilities they value for their children within a Malila identity as 'semi-citizens', they pursue broader identities as 'national' and 'global citizens' respectively through Swahili and English. They have even accepted their children's success will likely come at a substantial cost to their Malila identity in terms of language and culture. This is the opposite of capability expansion and it even suggests capability retraction if it is the case that as one moves outward from their origins, they risk losing the capabilities they once enjoyed there. The opposite of a citizen is a foreigner and if one needs to assume a different identity to expand their capabilities, they have the difficult choice between being a foreigner in the state or 'being' (i.e. feeling like/treated as) a foreigner in their home.

Connected to this, the study has further revealed an important perspective on language-in-education where parents view schools as 'outposts' for the linguistic identities they seek. As outposts, they are tasked with the function of transitioning children into these linguistic identities through language teaching, a process taken almost synonymously with instructing in a given language. For parents who hold stronger forms of this perspective, introducing Malila as LoI in primary schools is essentially viewed as the closing down of the outpost/gateway function of schools. It is no surprise that this concern emerges as a discourse of ISOLATION. But parents strongly feel the schools are letting them down. Zahra, agonising over the situation in one interview, summarised the general sentiment of parents in example (68) when she

complained, 'That's the way our schools have been built. We cry out for English but we're defeated ... [with] Malila you don't go anywhere!' I argue that the adoption of this discourse by Malila parents is an egregious albeit highly effective form of linguistic hegemony. As for parents who are supportive of Malila instruction, they are no less careful than their counterparts to safeguard the outpost function of schools considering they ultimately share the same goals of Swahili acquisition for their children. The difference being, rather than adopting a discourses of IMMERSION and DISPLACEMENT, they articulate their approach through a discourse of MT SCAFFOLDING.[1] On this point, I argue that parents' support for MTE in this study should not be taken as support for MLE considering the highly subtractive nature of their 'serial' approach to multilingualism.

The study has also challenged the assumption that a lack of *demand* for MTE can be equated with a lack of *interest* in MTE on the part of the Malila (and other indigenous communities in Tanzania). Just over half of parents interviewed (52%) stated they would prefer their early primary school-aged children receive instruction in Malila.[2] But linguistic hegemony, current educational policies, low levels of agency, insufficient knowledge about MLE and the absence of a forum in which parents can voice their concerns to educational authorities are powerful social realities working together to effectively silence indigenous interest in MTE.

Lastly, this thesis contributes to a notable gap in the literature as it relates to parents' LoI preferences. Of 63 publications identified and reviewed, only 12 were reports of primary research that involved parents in interviews, focus groups or both (i.e. as opposed to surveys/questionnaires). And just 2 of these were conducted in Tanzania (see John 2010; Telli 2014), but with a combined total of only 11 parents, they were very small studies. Also, they excluded indigenous languages and focused only on Swahili and English. The present study provides an in-depth exploration of language-in-education from the perspective of 65 parents in a minoritised, rural, indigenous language community in Tanzania whose language has only recently been developed. Particularly, it highlights key beliefs connected to languages and language

[1] For a discussion of these discourses, see section 3.2.2.

[2] See table 5.16. I include the four parents who were 'swayed' during interviews in this percentage.

learning that give rise to parents' support and rejection of specific LoIs for their children's early primary education. I have argued that there is 'more going on' behind parents' stated LoI preferences in a given moment and demonstrated how a network of beliefs pulls them in different and often competing directions. By conducting research in this particular space, voices are brought forward from a sample of Tanzania's population that represents a large portion of the nation who not only face inequality in language-in-education but also stand to benefit from MLE programs. Educational authorities and those working to improve quality of education in Tanzania, especially in rural areas, would benefit from the findings presented herein.

7.1.1 Methodological Contributions to LoI Research

In addition to contributing to knowledge, this thesis also espouses originality in its methodology as it relates to researching beliefs about language-in-education. Archer's contention that 'we do not uncover real social structures by interviewing people in-depth about them' (1998, p.199)[3] and Bjørnholt's (2011) characterisation of Wengraf (2001) that there is a '*gap* between the story told and the life lived' (p.5, emphasis mine) both highlight a challenge for interviewing in social research, especially when the objects of investigation are beliefs and assumptions which interviewees themselves may not be able to access. When asked what language in which their children should be instructed, parents in this study unhesitatingly responded with either, 'Malila,' 'Swahili,' 'English,' or a combination thereof. What body of knowledge and beliefs were they drawing from to take a confident position on this technical and contentious issue in education? Almost all of the parents (96%) were full-time farmers and only 10 had some post-primary education (up to Form 4) so it can be assumed they were drawing on their lay knowledge and (inter-)personal experience. To elucidate this, CDA, specifically Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach, has proven to be an effective tool. By analysing the linguistic strategies parents employed to act (genre), represent reality (discourse) and identify themselves and others (style) (see Fairclough 2003) as they talked about language and language

[3]Archer is contesting the possibility to directly interview people about the causal mechanisms behind their social behaviour, not the value of interviews as a method for studying such phenomena.

learning, it has been possible to reveal important ideological beliefs that inform this lay knowledge.

Three systematic approaches were used to select data for analysis. First, to better understand how parents conceptualised the languages they value most, the choices they made to index those languages during the interviews were considered. Using the notion of 'non-default labels', it has been possible to capture parents' efforts to imbue those languages with properties that were more meaningful to them in specific discursive moments—meanings that could not otherwise be expressed through default labels (e.g. 'Malila', 'Swahili' and 'English'). Second, to better understand how parents conceptualised language learning, analysis was focussed on their talk about personal experiences related to it. This revealed an understanding of 'best practices' they extend to their children's language learning. Third, each parents' LoI preferences were considered (and challenged) for specific children in specific years of early primary. This approach proved to be productive and applying it systematically avoided the pitfall of 'cherry picking' from the data.

Combining the critical work of CDA with a theory of social justice as developed in the CA was helpful in two ways. First, it helped to show not only how ideological beliefs were connected to inequality but also the nature of that inequality and where it is taking place. For example, construals of Malila as lexically inadequate for instruction establishes classes of languages: those that are vocabulary rich and those that are vocabulary poor. Where this results in Malila being proscribed as an LoI—and I would argue that in part, it has—the Malila community loses opportunities to develop their language academically. This negatively impacts them in the space of their valued linguistic capabilities.

Second, doing critical work against a background of social justice within the CA, privileged the research participants' agenda over my own. This was important in helping to situate my personal goals for MTE and MLE within the broader goals parents have for their children's well-being. Admittedly, work needs to be done to more adequately establish what those valued capabilities are but having a preliminary list was helpful. Working in this way also brought a deeper appreciation for the struggle in which Malila parents are engaged. This served as an ongoing reminder to be critically

sensitive to the participants, especially as it relates to identifying their own discursive contribution to the inequalities they face.

Admittedly, the methodology and the transdisciplinary approach used in this study entailed a greater level of complexity but I argue that understanding LoI preferences is a complex task and researching it requires tools that are commensurate in complexity and fit for purpose (see the concluding remarks in section 3.3 for more on this). I discuss some of the limitations I encountered using this approach in section 7.3 below.

7.2 Implications: Appreciate, Educate, Validate

Considering the focus on beliefs and ideologies, many implications could be drawn from this study for each of the various discursive practices Malila parents presented. In the interest of simplicity, however, I group them into three categories of recommendations: i.) the complex network of ideologies, beliefs, assumptions and attitudes that engender LoI preferences need to be *appreciated*; ii.) the Malila community, especially parents, need to be *educated*; and iii.) indigenous languages need to be *validated*. I discuss each of these in turn below and summarise with some brief recommendations more specific to policy.

7.2.1 Appreciating the Complexities of LoI Preferences

Fifteen years ago if I had asked 10 parents from the Malila community in what language they wanted their children to be instructed and 4 indicated Malila and the remaining 6 were split between Swahili and English, I would have concluded that 4 parents 'get it' and the remaining 6 do not. (Of course someone with a different perspective than myself might conclude the opposite—commending the 6 (or 3) and recommending remediation for the others.) Drawing that conclusion, however, would have been unfortunate and might have possibly lead to some poor planning decisions. Also, I suspect that if I returned to those same parents on a different day and repeated the inquiry, I would get different results. So why the variation?

I have argued that these responses are connected to deeper ontological structures where phenomena in the 'actual' and the 'real' (see Bhaskar 2008, p.2) bear on parents' preferences in different ways. For example, on one occasion, they might be more concerned about their children's [abstract], long-term future prospects whereas on a different occasion, they might find themselves frustrated with their daughter's failure on a [concrete] high-stakes examination conducted in Swahili. Perhaps the context and ways in which the question was posed invoked still other concerns. These matters that directly shape LoI preferences can ontologically be located in the actual. But parents' shifting and competing concerns are located within and shaped by still 'deeper' phenomena. Tanzania's educational policies, for example, both limit and influence their preferences by dictating when and which languages are available for instruction while proscribing others. The policies themselves reflect their colonial roots but attempt to address present day economic realities such as neoliberalism and globalisation. And while this may seem a long way down a causal chain, bear in mind parents in this study readily made links between LoI and security concerns they have about imported goods making their way into the local village market. I have also argued that parents' acquiescence to certain social structures and practices is hegemonic when, for example, they affirm the ideology that their languages are lexically inadequate and therefore, unsuitable as an LoI. These issues of neoliberalism, globalisation and hegemony are among others that can be located ontologically in the deepest level of the real.

It may be helpful to imagine a parent's stated preference for a specific LoI to teach a certain child in a given year of schooling as the tip of an iceberg. Below the surface is a much larger structure that hosts a network of other realities of varying depths. The stated preference can be causally traced down into these deeper structures but the links between different phenomena may connect in different ways under different circumstances leading to different responses. This is by no means a justification to dismiss what parents say as irrelevant (i.e. the empirical ontological layer) but it does demand that their statements be understood through all of the layers as a given preference may not transparently represent what is really going on.

First and foremost, caution must be heeded by anyone investigating LoI

preferences among socially excluded language communities in multilingual contexts in order to appreciate the complex ways in which parents approach the issue. If these discourses are as entrenched as this study and the literature suggests they are, then expecting parents to unquestioningly embrace MLE is not only overly ambitious but reflects a disregard for their deeply-held beliefs. And efforts that do not align with parents' beliefs are unlikely to succeed. Ball (2010), advocating for MLE in a literature review prepared for UNESCO ten years into the Dakar Framework for Action (see UNESCO 2000), reflects, 'we have witnessed the demise of programs that promote ideals and methods that are not congruent with parents' understanding of how children learn, what children need to learn, and their own roles in promoting learning' (p.47).

This leads directly into a second recommendation: that a comprehensive undertaking to establish parents' valued capabilities (broadly related to language-in-education) form the basis of community language planning and provide the framework through which an MLE program is developed. A concern related to this, however, is the support and education needed (see below) to help parents in that process. The focus group discussions conducted in this study for the purpose of gathering a list of parents' valued capabilities[4] [intentionally] offered no such support and it revealed that parents' wants have been conditioned by the three-tiered citizenship described by Rubagumya et al. (2011) and the need to move 'up' and out through each tier. This fits with what Elster (1982) describes as 'adaptive preference formation' (p.219), a product of utilitarianism. Sen elaborates on the process of adaptation as a defence for the need to assess equality in the space of capabilities:

> Our desires and pleasure-taking abilities adjust to circumstances, especially to make life bearable in adverse situations. The utility calculus can be deeply unfair to those who are persistently deprived ... The deprived people tend to come to terms with their deprivation because of the sheer necessity of survival, and they may, as a result, lack the courage to demand any radical change, and may even adjust their desires and expectations to what they unambitiously see as feasible. (Sen 1999, p.62–63)

[4]For the list, refer to table 6.1.

But I argue that adaptive preferences pose a problem in the CA for the way in which they are at odds with Sen's commitment to people's agency and the central role communities should play in establishing their own valued capabilities (Sen 2005). Guiding a community in the selection of valued capabilities then is a delicate task that with poor facilitation, could result in an even greater imposition of existing agendas (e.g. from the 'top') or competing agendas (e.g. from the 'side') which could potentially place communities in between the goals of non-governmental organisations and Tanzanian authorities. The ideal situation is one I would describe as being comprised of united support from both the 'top' and the 'sides' (see Dutcher 2001) which produce bottom-driven, valued capabilities championed by all stakeholders.

Appreciating both the complexities of parents' LoI preferences together with their valued linguistic capabilities is a necessary step to understanding how they approach (and in some ways contribute to) the problem. The step is an essential one as it reveals both structural and ideological barriers to MLE that need to be addressed. More importantly, however, engaging parents at this level in planning for language-in-education democratises the process and opens up a much-needed space for dialogue.

7.2.2 The Importance and Value of Educating Parents

It is becoming more and more clear that parents' intuition/common-sense/lay knowledge about language-in-education is misleading them. This emerged in the studies considered in section 3.2 of the literature review as well as the present study. The most obvious confusion is distinguishing language instruction (i.e. for the purposes of learning a language) from language *of* instruction (i.e. for the purposes of learning). And in Tanzania, it is not just parents who exhibit confusion in this area but also government and educational authorities (Babaci-Wilhite 2010). Furthermore, researchers, myself included, are confused about the confusion and what it produces in terms of behaviour. It is not entirely clear what it is that DLoIs are believed to impart to their end users in terms of language versus knowledge. In some cases it is clearly language skills (e.g. Brock-Utne and H. B. Holmarsdottir 2001; de Klerk 2002; Graham 2010; Lai and Byram 2003; Nomlomo 2006; Qorro

2013; Woldemariam 2007; Wolff 2011) with little or no mention of curriculum content but in other cases, language learning is viewed synonymously with learning content since NDLoIs are often construed as insufficient carriers of knowledge (e.g. Annamalai 2004; Ball 2010; Begi 2014; Lopes 1998; Mohamed 2013; Rubagumya 2003; Vuzo 2010). These are two separate issues that need to be teased apart and independently clarified through further education. But although confusion between language learning and learning presents the most obvious space where education is necessary, raising awareness among parents about the efficacy of MTE and MLE is a far greater need (and perhaps more easily accomplished). Parents' lack of knowledge about the benefits of MTE and MLE is consistently lamented in the literature[5] and I argue it is ultimately a need to change discursive practices and deconstruct fallacies connected to 'minority' languages (this is moving into validation which I discuss next).

One noteworthy, awareness-raising campaign on the African continent, targeted specifically at parents, was done as part of Zambia's national Primary Reading Program[6] which ended 30 years of English as LoI in all years of schooling. In 1999, *literacy* was established as its own course in the curriculum (i.e. separate from language) and 7, local, official languages (i.e. NDLoIs) were used regionally to strengthen literacy outcomes throughout primary school (Linehan 2004). Fully expecting that parents would object to the program, a comprehensive awareness-raising campaign utilising radio, television, newspapers and public gatherings was successfully conducted to promote the benefits of using a familiar language for teaching and learning.[7] Linehan (2004) concludes that a communication strategy connected to MLE is essential in moving through change since parents tend to prefer 'a stable situation, however bad, rather than gamble to improve that situation in the future at an unknown social and political cost' (p.13). Or to state it in principle, 'If fear of loss outweighs hope of gain, success will depend on how well the underlying fears are allayed' (p.13).

[5]See section 3.2.3 where a discourse of PARENTAL AWARENESS-RAISING is discussed and attributed to researchers.

[6]See section 3.2.3.

[7]Being that these were official/regional languages, it is difficult to assess if children were learning in their mother tongues or just something 'less foreign' than English. The point here, however, is that awareness raising can help parents to change their position.

Even after the fact, MLE implementations continue to require the support of parents as it is not just their children who are impacted but teachers as well. Begi (2014) noted a vicious cycle in Kenya where both headmasters and teachers were discouraged from effectively using the mother tongue in the classroom by parents who did not support the policy to implement it. He calls for 'capacity-building and sensitization meetings for parents' (Begi 2014, p.48–49). Qorro (2009), has argued that the kind of information parents need is inaccessibly confined to journals and has called for African researchers to do a better job of publishing their findings in African languages.

The parents in this study demonstrated that they were ill-informed about the MPS program. Some were not aware their children were even participating in MTE and among those who did, most thought it was for the purpose of helping children to understand Swahili concepts through translation. I attribute this to the program's infancy, quick 'organic' growth, and lack of funding. Initial awareness-raising efforts were conducted in the community but the practice was not adequately sustained. The local Malila language committee and the wider community would benefit significantly if these efforts were somehow resurrected or new, more effective ones put in place.

7.2.3 A Need for Language Validation

For over a century, the Canadian government operated a residential school program where children of indigenous communities were removed from parents' care, placed in boarding schools, taught to reject their languages, cultures, ways of life and assimilate into Canadian culture. To preserve the memory of the damages done through the residential school program, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) was established. 'The federal government has estimated that at least 150,000 First Nation, Métis, and Inuit students passed through the system' (TRC 2015, p.3). Abuse was rampant in the schools and an unknown number of children died. Records are poor but 'analysis of a combination of the Named and Unnamed registers identified 3,201 reported deaths' (TRC 2015, p.92). The program constitutes one of the most heinous educational policies against indigenous groups. Senator Murray Sinclair, who served as Chief Commissioner of the TRC spoke candidly in a

personal interview with the Ottawa Citizen newspaper:

> This is a Canadian problem. Because at the same time that aboriginal people were being demeaned in the schools and their culture and language were being taken away from them and they were being told that they were inferior, they were pagans, that they were heathens and savages and that they were unworthy of being respected—that very same message was being given to the non-aboriginal children in the public schools as well. (Kennedy 2015, para.7)

Policies, by way of implication, have powerful silent messages and Senator Sinclair's comments demonstrate a keen awareness of how discourse subtly works to develop notions of common sense. The last residential school program closed in 1996 (TRC 2015, p.357). Since the 1870s and all throughout the twentieth century then—well over a century—Canadians were receiving the message that First Nations languages and cultures were not valid.

Whether one views the role of language in identity as processual (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall 2004) or symbolic (e.g. J. Edwards 2009), the centrality of language in identity formation is axiomatic. Parents in this study were clear that the Malila language is one to be cherished and passed between generations. It is an essential element of how they see themselves as both similar and different from others. Key evidence for this lies in the practice of parents who, seeking capability expansion, encourage their children to move out into different identities by adopting Swahili and English. At the same time, however, they hope their children will retain something of the language—at least enough to preserve some sense of a Malila identity. Unfortunately though, value for the language beyond identity formation and local communicative practices diminishes very quickly. When thinking about the quality of life they desire for their children growing up in Tanzania, parents have come to see their language (and I would further argue, their identity) as more of a liability than an asset. They bemoan its perceived inadequacy in education for maths, the sciences and technology. And because the formal education system only validates knowledge in Swahili or English, speaking Malila exclusively is linked to being uneducated, which correspondingly, de-links it from opportunities for educational, social and economic mobility. This culminates in a discourse of ISOLATION for those who only know Malila.

Furthermore, the region associated with the Malila language community is underdeveloped in terms of industry and basic public services (e.g. law enforcement, hospitals, financial institutions and courts) so opportunities for employment are limited. Remaining in the region, under most circumstances, is synonymous with a life of subsistence farming. And since it is necessary to travel outside of the community to access many public services, it is imperative to have Swahili proficiency for both communication and personal security needs.

Since 2004, with external support and funding, the Malila language has undergone significant development by the local community. There is a small but growing corpus of teaching and learning materials as well as electronic, audio and print media. Compared to Swahili and English, however, the disparity of resources is immense. Furthermore Malila (like other indigenous languages in Tanzania) is proscribed in formal schooling so children who use it in the school context often face disciplinary measures. At present, it can only be taught in nursery school programs.

I put forward the aforementioned social realities in order to revisit the question implicit in the research aim—what discourses do they engender among the Malila community? And in light of Senator Sinclair's comments above, what discourses do they engender in Tanzania and the world beyond? How do these realities broadly shape perceptions of the Malila language and the people who own it? Qorro (2005), after listing the most common arguments for English instruction in Tanzanian secondary schools, rightly concludes that 'most parents have probably heard these reasons time and again; and this is reflected in their views' (p.98). I have argued that the situation is constitutive of linguistic hegemony and that there is a clear need for Malila to be validated in the minds of parents, educational authorities, government and the broader Tanzanian public. This validation needs to be both internal and external.

By internal validation, I refer to activities that would change the way parents think about their language, especially in education. Such activities should further validate and increase the value and status of the Malila language within parents' belief systems. The awareness-raising efforts discussed in the previous section work towards accomplishing this although those

recommendations were more concerned with correcting fallacies. Further education needs to raise awareness about Malila's linguistic attributes (e.g. its richness, complexity and expressive power). I am puzzled by the irony of parents who view Swahili (and English) as more superior than Malila when in fact, Swahili—as a trade language—could be said to be less linguistically marked[8] (e.g. structurally less complex) than Malila. Publishing accessible and widely-available grammars of Malila is important. Di- and Triglot dictionaries help speakers to see their language's lexicon against and comparable to the lexicons of dominant languages. Language documentation efforts with older generations combined with planned corpus enrichment and lexicogenesis (see Picone 1994) can further help to both recover forgotten words and establish new ones.

By external validation, I refer to activities that provide greater contextual support for the Malila community in the development, promotion and implementation of their language within and beyond formal education. Some of these are policy recommendations, which I discuss in the next section; however, other supportive activities that might result from policy changes include but are not limited to:

- developing Malila teaching and learning materials for higher grades,
- producing Malila materials in multi-modal formats,
- establishing Malila newspapers and radio programs,
- national campaigns that promote Malila and all indigenous languages in Tanzania as more than cultural artefacts,
- offering language courses in Malila at local secondary and regional post-secondary schools including options for civil servants who relocate to the area (e.g. teachers and agricultural extension officers),
- establishing cultural community centres for Malila diaspora in urban contexts,
- maintaining an 'on-line' presence for the Malila language with downloadable resources,

[8]Linguistic markedness is one way of evaluating a language's complexity. See Eckman, Moravcsik and Wirth (1986).

- garnering support from elites, and
- giving the Malila language a more official presence in the community.

Some of these activities would generate employment that would, possibly for the first time, create a demand for high levels of competency in the Malila language. As it relates to garnering support from elites, Lai and Byram (2003) note this sub-class of parents can all but decide the fate of proposed changes to LoI policies.[9] And as it relates to giving the Malila language a more official presence, this can range from simple solutions such as Malila signage to more robust solutions that allow for the language to be used in official purposes at the local level. Nomlomo (2006) found in South Africa that putting Xhosa on bank machines alongside English and Afrikaans 'seemed to be a source of pride and joy for some of the parents' and it marked the 'beginning of economic and technological advancement of African languages that would in the long term change the people's mindsets about using these languages in education' (p.127).

In the final analysis, there needs to be more external, contextual support in the 'real world' for the Malila language to be validated sufficiently by parents—people need to see that they can achieve valuable functionings (e.g. beings and doings) in a Malila identity that does not exclude their language.[10]

7.2.4 Policy Recommendations

In addition to the practical recommendations above, I put forward four areas where greater policy support is needed.

1. Create space for more schooling options.
2. End disciplinary measures for children who speak Malila at school.
3. Act on Tanzania's ratification of the UNDRIP.

[9] See the discussion of ELITE INFLUENCE in section 3.2.1.

[10] In section 3.2.2, see the discussion of an ECONOMIC MOBILITY discourse as it relates to indigenous Welsh (Wales) and Cree (Canada) parents who preferred NDLoIs for their children.

4. Provide official validation of the Malila people, their language, culture and the region where they dwell.

I briefly discuss each of these in turn.

Create space for more schooling options.

Since independence, Tanzania has had a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to schooling as it relates to language-in-education. Regardless of an area's geography and demographics, children are taught in Swahili throughout primary school and English throughout secondary school. For parents who can afford it, English-medium primary schools are an option but they are few in number[11] and predominantly found in urban and semi-urban settings. Parents, therefore, depending on where they live and their financial position have either one or no choice of LoI for their children's primary school education. Prior to the introduction of MPSs, the Malila community had no option for children to receive instruction in Malila. But even with the small MPS program, the community remains vastly under-served and the program remains too informal and short in duration for the full benefits of MTE to be realised.

Policy should be modified to accommodate at least 3 years of MLE in primary school but up to 6 years would result in greater benefits (Malone 2018). Implicit in this recommendation is a curriculum change that would allow for testing in Malila where content has been taught in that language.

End disciplinary measures for children who speak Malila at school.

In recollecting their childhood, parents in this study reported being subjected to corporal punishment and/or shaming for speaking Malila at school. No parents reported physical abuse for their own children but many mentioned that shaming continues, especially in the upper grades.

[11] In 2012, 3.9% of primary schools offered English instruction (see section 3.1.5). Data on the number of English-medium primary schools was not included in the Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania 2016 report; however, primary schools were disaggregated by ownership: government and non-government. The latter accounted for 6.6% of schools and 3.5% of the total national enrolment (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology 2016). This data largely reflects privately-owned English-medium primary schools.

In an incisive rights-based argument, Hurwitz and Kambel (2020) discuss 'language-based punishment and exclusion in education' (p.8). They reveal how widespread the practice is globally and explore some of the long-term, psychological and physiological impact on children who have faced language-based punishment. To end the practice, they are committed to the Language Friendly School initiative which aims to '(a) eradicate the practice of punishing school children for using their home language at school and (b) create language-friendly learning environments for all children' (Hurwitz and Kambel 2020, p.18). Through various strategies, the initiative embraces and supports the languages of students, parents, teachers and school staff.

In much of Africa, punishing children for speaking their mother tongue at school is a practice that Prah (2009) credits to elites who have continued the colonial tradition as part of their own cultural orientation towards the west. He is frustrated in that it results in the condition whereby

> those who are supposed to creatively rethink language of instruction policies are themselves the ultimate stumbling blocks fighting rearguard resistance against a fresh rethink. Culturally, as creatures of the reconstructed colonial educational system their social superiority over mass society has been based on the maintenance of neo-colonial language of instruction policies. (2009, p.90)

From a discursive perspective, language-based punishment not only racialises children (Cummins 2017) but introduces very early on, the idea that their languages are inadequate and have no place in education. In Tanzania where schools also function as outposts of national and global identities, it is an effective way of informing Malila children and parents that their local identities are not welcome and must, quite literally, be 'checked at the door'. Tanzania should adopt policies against language-based punishment and strictly ban the practice nation-wide. Support would need to be developed for schools and teachers to work better in multi-lingual contexts—something I argue Tanzanians excel at in other social domains.

Act on Tanzania's ratification of the UNDRIP.

I have been critical of an over-reliance on rights-based approaches to addressing inequality in education for indigenous language communities.[12] Positive rights are difficult to implement and collectives (i.e. as opposed to individuals) are difficult to define. Furthermore, positive rights introduce the risk of dependence and can have negative repercussions on agency if government abuses its control over language planning. That being said, linguistic rights can form part of a broader and more supportive social structure for indigenous communities when they drive community-centred planning for language-in-education. This constitutes part of the 'top' support discussed above.

Tanzania has ratified the UNDRIP but needs to begin implementing its articles, especially those practical aspects that address indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination, accessing legal and administrative services, education that is linguistically and culturally relevant, the production of their own media, improving their own socio-economic conditions, the development of traditional knowledge and the use and development of their land (see UN General Assembly 2007).

Provide official validation of the Malila people, their language, culture and the region where they dwell.

Tanzanian government authorities should amend policies to provide stronger validation of the Malila language, culture and community as an indigenous group within the country. Many of the external validation activities recommended above would require policy support such as requiring the provision of teaching and learning materials, removing constraints for public Malila media (newspapers, radio, and television) (see J. Rugemalira 2013), national promotion of and education about Malila language and culture and the provision of formal Malila language training.

Tanzania has and should be credited with a strong sense of national unity; however, it has come at a significant cost to indigenous identities for

[12] See section 3.1.2.

the way in which the discourse anchors unity in nationalism with an explicit commitment to Swahili. I have argued that this inversely construes indigenous languages as divisive.[13] During foundational work with the Malila and other language communities in Tanzania, I would occasionally face opposition from local authorities (elites) who argued that developing indigenous languages in Tanzania would promote tribalism, thus, destabilising the state. I carried a copy of and referred to the following declarations from Tanzania's 1997 Cultural Policy:[14]

> **1.2 Vernacular Languages**
>
> 1.2.1 Our people shall continue to use and be proud of their vernacular languages.
>
> 1.2.2 Communities, private and public organisations shall be encouraged to research, write, preserve and translate vernacular languages into other languages.
>
> 1.2.3 The writing of vernacular language dictionaries and grammar books shall be encouraged.
>
> 1.2.4 Public and private organisations shall be encouraged to publish and disseminate veniacular language materials. (Ministry of Education and Culture 1997, p.2)

Surprisingly, most Tanzanians I engaged with on this were unaware these declarations existed, which indicates the government has much work to do not only in policy reform but also in implementing existing policies.

As it relates to granting more official recognition to the Malila region, Tanzania's Village Land act of 1999 has made positive strides forward in the recognition of customary land rights and decentralising land registrations but these much needed land reforms, while exemplary in sub-Saharan Africa, are moving very slowly (Palmer 1999). Massay (2016) highlights how the 'Ujamaa Community Resource Team ... and Tanzania Land Alliance ... have managed to secure the first ever title deed of the community land owned by the Hadza/Hadzabe indigenous ethnic group in Northern Tanzania' (p.19); however, this was the first and only case in 15 years of the act's adoption.

[13] See the discussion of ***lugha ya taifa*** 'language of the nation' in section 5.1.2.

[14] I used the Swahili policy document but present the English here.

Since Tanzania's independence and its early commitment to African socialism, the presence of indigenous communities have consistently been obscured through intentional efforts to bring the nation together. The role Swahili has played in this process cannot be understated (Blommaert 1996). Much work needs to be started on providing official recognition of Tanzania's indigenous peoples, languages and lands as an important vehicle for their validation.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

It is pervasive in the sciences that unlike quantitative studies, findings from qualitative studies are not generalisable to other/wider populations (i.e. in the classic, positivist sense where findings are equivalent to universal laws). Qualitative researchers have responded with adaptations of the generalisation concept in order to encourage the application of their findings from one context to another. Comparing the two paradigms, Tracy (2010), citing Winter (2000), notes, 'Our cornucopia of distinct concepts stands in marked contrast to the relative consensus in the quantitative community that good research aims for validity, reliability, generalizability, and objectivity' (p.837).

I have intentionally kept the recommendations above, for the most part, limited to the Malila community but in doing so, I have already made a generalisation from the 65 parents who participated in the interviews to the entire Malila population of approximately 78,000. Following (Lincoln and Guba 2009), I am confident doing this within the scope of *transferability*, having satisfied the conditions of *fittingness* since the contexts are more than similar—they are one and the same. But what of Tanzania's 117 other indigenous languages? Arguably, a case could be made along the same lines; that [at least in rural contexts,] the findings from this research could also have applications to the country's other indigenous communities. Alternatively, I can leave the recommendations as they stand and following the approach of '*naturalistic generalisation*' laid out by Stake (2009, p.22), place the onus of generalising on to readers of this study who, in their contexts, 'have a full and thorough knowledge of the particular', and are able to recognise it 'also in new and foreign contexts' (p.22). In keeping with the discursive approach

of this research, however, I suggest this study's findings may be applicable well beyond Tanzania. Building on the interpretive repertoire (Potter and Wetherell 1987) and the discursive action model (D. Edwards and Potter 1993), Goodman (2008) proposes that 'discursive findings can be seen as highlighting *generalizable actions performed by a rhetorical strategy*' (p.268, emphasis in original). Goodman is clear that this is not the same type of generalisability performed in quantitative research:

> This type of generalizability reflects the context rich and ideological nature of language. The flexible and indexical nature of language use means that we require a flexible form of generalizability to understand it. To claim that discursive findings are generalizable, it is not necessary to resort to quantitative measures of significance values or to make predictions as to when a particular strategy will be used. (2008, p.272)

The rationale for discursive generalisation is located in studies that demonstrate how certain discursive strategies can be consistently observed (i.e. 'generalised') across different contexts. Goodman (2008) establishes 5 criteria that a discursive strategy must satisfy in order to be generalisable. They need to i.) accomplish something rhetorically, ii.) be used in a range of contexts to accomplish the same thing, iii.) be successful in bringing about the same accomplishment repeatedly, iv.) as successful, be used by a range of people and v.) over time, engender their own opposition. A discourse of ECONOMIC MOBILITY connected to English as a justification for support of English instruction is a pertinent example here. The literature reviewed in this study demonstrates how the strategy meets all 5 criteria, including the last one as researchers are pushing back against the discourse (e.g. Banda 2000; Nomlomo 2006; Babaci-Wilhite 2010; Trudell 2007; Plüddemann 2010). Many of the discourses identified in this study were reflected globally across a range of contexts in the literature[15] making them candidates for discursive generalisation.

[15]See the discussion in section 6.1 of the previous chapter.

7.3.1 Methodological Limitations

More specific limitations that emerged in the study were connected to the chosen methods, specifically sampling, analysis and the interview guide. Each of these are briefly discussed below.

Sampling Limitations

By interviewing couples, women's voices were diminished as men tended to dominate interview conversations. Both parents (one male and one female) were present in 28 of 37 interviews; however, a CAQDAS report of respondents' coverage (i.e. their share of total interview responses based on the transcripts) indicates on average, men account for 75.92% of responses and women only 24.08%.[16] Women contributed more than men in just four interviews. The findings, then, reflect a more male perspective on the issues investigated but more research would be needed to establish if there is a difference. In a future study, I would consider a specific set of questions for mothers and fathers respectively in conjunction with a set for both. I would also want to know more about who makes decisions regarding children's education if I were to conduct similar research in a context where parents had choices.

The sample's perspective on language-in-education was also limited by the fact that neither parents nor their children had experienced an MLE program (e.g. a more complete program than the current MPSs). Any rejection of MTE then, could be described as a 'theoretical' one. This is informative in itself as it points to sources of rejection beyond personal experience. It would, however, be valuable to follow-up this study with another in the event that the Malila community were to implement an MLE program. Similarly, few households had children who were enrolled in secondary school so most of the perspectives related to English instruction were also located somewhere outside of personal experience. Despite these limitations, however, I argue the sample is representative of the kinds of communities where MLE is being

[16] Averages were calculated on 27 couple interviews. In one interview, a mother gave almost no responses. Her husband explained she had no education and lacked Swahili so I grouped it with the singles' interviews for this calculation.

introduced for the first time and therefore, also representative of the kinds of beliefs that might be encountered.

Analysis Limitations

In order to better manage the large data set, identify the most salient discourses and avoid the temptation to 'cherry-pick' what was analysed, I adopted a systematic approach whereby non-default language labels were selected as 'flags' for what to analyse. There were two drawbacks to this. First, it limited the overall number of discourses that were identified since discussing languages in ideological ways did not always happen in conjunction with non-default labels. And second, the frequency with which parents used specific non-default labels (indicated by occurrence and source counts) were not always indicative of how prominent a given discourse was since the same discourse could also emerge in the context of default labels. Again, the discourse of ECONOMIC MOBILITY is pertinent as it illustrates both of these issues. As a benefit of knowing English, it was prominent across the interviews; however, there was no label that attached English to wealth, the elite, employment or monetary gain. It was through the work on FLP and the investigation of language learning motivations where these connections could be exposed. That being said, I was taken aback by the textual prominence of English's social reach in discourse (i.e. as a vehicle for geographical and communicative mobility), which by far exceeded the prominence of English's economic benefits. This is not to say, however, the two are disconnected.

A further analytical limitation connected to my use of the CA had to do with the quality of the list generated from the focus group discussions. I use it canonically to evaluate parents' discursive behaviour but I am also critical of the list for not being properly developed. I argue it provides good insight into the struggles parents face by revealing 'internal' inconsistencies but analytically, there would be greater benefits in studying parents' discursive behaviour against a more rigorously-developed list. To accomplish this, however, would be challenging in Tanzania's current policy context as engaging all of the necessary stakeholders would not be possible. And if such a list could be developed, there are ethical concerns with doing it solely for the sake of research with no intent to implement it developmentally.

Interview Guide Limitations

Because of the 'gap' and the challenge of conducting semi-structured interviews without knowing what analysis would (or would not) reveal, there were limitations connected to the interview guide. Arguably, I would be in a far better position at present to develop a guide with the knowledge base this research has provided. One key adjustment would be to develop questions that drew out greater intertextuality in parents' responses. I had hoped to gain a better understanding of where beliefs were 'sourced' by investigating how they were attributed to others but there was little to work with in the data. Perhaps I was expecting a level of intertextuality one finds in the literature where CDA is commonly applied to news, political speeches and public documents versus every-day talk where people may be less concerned with attributing their knowledge to its sources.

7.3.2 Researcher Limitations

Two limitations related to my role in the research are the potential for bias (resulting from my support of MLE) and my competence (or lack thereof) in Swahili for the purposes of conducting CDA. I have discussed the former in chapter 2 and at greater length in chapter 4 so focus only on the latter concern here.

What is my competency to critically analyse the discursive behaviour of others in a culture and language with which I have a particular kind of experience unique from those with whom I engaged? I have found that working with CDA demands a high degree of proficiency in the language being analysed. And while I argue that my competency is not insufficient to productively carry out this research, I also recognise that no two people bring the same interpretive framework to texts and that this disparity is exacerbated by socio-economic, geographical and cultural distance. Certain words and phrases, for example, are unlikely to invoke the same emotions and memories (e.g. from childhood) for me as they do for the parents I interviewed. It begs the question then of how I, as a bilingual researcher, construct meaning 'since it cannot be assumed that my knowledge of Swahili and Tanzanian culture gives me some sort of privilege to elegantly transition

between two worlds' (Foster 2013a, p.16). Temple states the assumption that knowing a language provides

> direct access to the views of supposedly homogeneous communities is an essentialist one. It is built on the premise that is [*sic*] there is only one way to experience being bilingual and only one way of being part of a community. (2006, p.3)

If there are indeed different ways of being part of a community then it can be argued that I and the research participants formed, albeit for a brief time, a small research community with unique and diverse perspectives to co-create the present work. This moves away from essentialism, brings greater inclusivity for my perspective while at the same time appreciating that parents (i.e. not just me) had also stepped into a novel context using an additionally-learned (i.e. 'second') language. In this sense, 'Ethnicity, particularly based solely on pre-conceived notions of linguistic competence and understanding, may not be the only relevant social characteristics in the research' (Temple 2006, p.4).

7.4 Final Remarks

I characterise this study as an exploration of an under-researched issue. While much has been revealed about the causal mechanisms that give rise to parents' support and rejection of specific LoIs, more work must be done to better understand how parents in minoritised language communities conceptualise language-in-education, especially where those communities speak languages that have not yet (or only recently) been developed. Furthermore, creative and compelling strategies for educating communities and government need to be discovered. The validation of indigenous languages and communities is required on both national and global scales and adequate resources need to be directed towards the issue.

Considering the central role of LoI in schooling, I would also characterise this study as having an overarching concern with quality of education in Tanzania. In section 2.2.3, I adopted a definition of 'good quality education'

put forward by Tikly and A. Barrett (2011) which tasked schools with expanding capabilities for students in four ways:

1. to be economically productive,
2. to develop sustainable livelihoods,
3. to contribute to peaceful and democratic societies and
4. to enhance individual well-being.

Setting aside the Tanzanian school system's performance in these areas and just looking at the current curriculum's capacity to achieve these goals, an important concern is brought to light: to what extent does the curriculum prepare students to realise the functionings above (i.e. beings and doings) *where they are*? And by 'where they are,' it is meant their current social position. This includes, for example, being Malila, speaking the Malila language and living in the Malila community/region. Perhaps the most troubling discourse presented repeatedly by parents in this study is what seems to be a default approach to achieving well-being by 'escaping' from a Malila way of life that has become synonymous with isolation and exclusion. This should not be compared to the lure of urban life in high-income countries where people can achieve well-being without learning a new language, culture or having to relocate themselves geographically.

Serpell's fourteen-year study in Zambia on the significance of schooling (1993) led him to conclude that although literacy can create important opportunities for empowering local communities to build on their culture and collective knowledge across time and space, it is a potential that can only be realised within a political framework (i.e. social structure) that creates space for precisely that to happen. But instead, he lamented that the Zambian framework (and I argue the Tanzanian one as well) rallies people towards literacy in foreign languages and remote, prestigious jobs among the elite.

> This extractive definition of success within the school curriculum is fundamentally alienating. Instead of empowering a community to take charge of its own destiny, to secure greater control over its physical resources, to channel them into a more productive

> and harmonious 'way of life', schooling has served to fragment and stratify society, and to devalue indigenous cultural forms: language, music, socialization practices, even the basic concept of *nzelu*.[17] (Serpell 1993, p.107, emphasis in original)

Serpell's comments capture two conditions that are fundamental to language development work and personally, they constitute two important lessons learned in this study that will impact my current and future work. The first has to do with striving to ensure language development efforts and research among minoritised, indigenous language communities, especially in vulnerable contexts, are wrapped in democratic processes as soon as they begin. Theoretical perspectives embraced in this study—the CA, Linguistic Citizenship and FLP—give primacy to voice, agency and dialogue as it relates to participants in research and language planning, especially those for whom policies are being determined. In response to the concerns that came out of the TRC mentioned above, a posture of 'nothing about us without us' is being adopted across Canadian institutions as it relates to research and work among First Nations communities (e.g. Marsden, Star and Smylie 2020; Funnell et al. 2019; Nelson 2020; Seth et al. 2015). I applaud this approach and point out that it has recently been adopted in policy by all three of Canada's federal research agencies as it relates to Canada's First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples (see CIHR, NSERC and SSHRC 2018). The present study clearly demonstrates the need for a similar approach in Tanzania and elsewhere. The Malila feel they have little or no voice as it relates to language-in-education. As passive recipients of decisions made in government which ignore their valued capabilities, they are abandoned to independently pursue their language goals with inadequate support and resources.

Second, I have come to appreciate the importance of adequate social structures that support communities in more fully realising the benefits of MTE and MLE. Where that support does not exist, I am deeply concerned for approaches that persist in spite of its absence or without a strategy to address it. Considering the tenuous nature of governments' and parents'

[17] Serpell takes great care in his adoption and explanation of the Chewa concept of ***nzelu*** which roughly translates as 'intelligence' in English. Readers are encouraged to explore the concept more fully in Serpell (1993, p.31–38).

willingness to adopt MLE in Tanzania, a poor implementation will likely have 'inoculating' effects. What precisely comprises 'adequate social structures' is a subject for further research but negative rights or passive support is inadequate. Minimally, it should address the Malila community's valued linguistic capabilities and ultimately it should provide the possibility to achieve individual well-being for someone who chooses to pursue a Malila 'way of life' as they so define it.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Ethics Permission

On September 28, 2015 I received clearance from the University of Bristol's Faculty of Social Sciences and Law Ethics Committee. The approval email notification is provided here:

From: **Ethics Online Tool Administrator**
Date: 1 October 2015 at 07:00
Subject: Ethics Online Tool: application signed off
To: danny.foster@bristol.ac.uk

Your Ethics Online Application for your research project Changing Discourses on Language of Instruction Among the Vwanji—An Indigenous Language Community in Tanzania has been granted ethical approval, you can begin your research.

For your reference, details of your Outline application can be found online here:

http://www.bristol.ac.uk/red/ethics-online-tool/applications/26703

Appendix B

Interviews

B.1 Sample Recruitment Letter

Figure B.1 shows an anonymised recruitment letter from a primary school headmaster to the parents of one household requesting their participation in the interviews. An English translation follows.

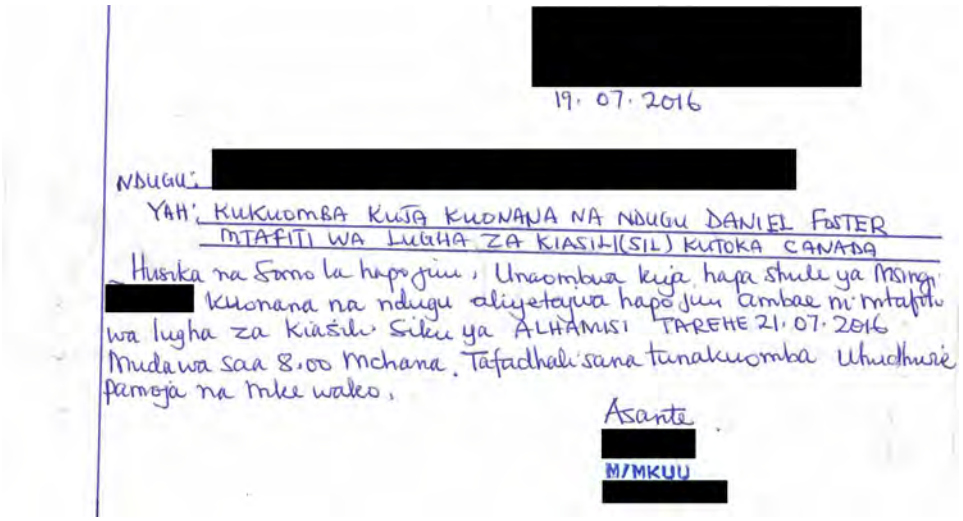

FIGURE B.1: Sample recruitment letter sent to parents

[school name and address]
19.07.2016

TO: [parents' names]

RE: REQUESTING YOU TO COME MEET WITH DANIEL FOSTER INDIGENOUS LANGUAGE RESEARCHER (SIL) FROM CANADA

Concerning the subject above, you are requested to come here to the primary school at [name of village] to meet with the person mentioned above who is an indigenous language researcher on THURSDAY 21.07.2016 at 2:00 pm. We request you to please attend with your wife.

Thank you,
[signature]
Headmaster
[school name]

B.2 Interview Engagement Letter

B.2.1 Swahili

Each interview participant received a copy of the letter on the following page. An English translation of the letter's content is provided thereafter in section B.2.2.

SIL International
Uganda Tanzania Branch
S.L.P. 6359
Mbeya, Tanzania

YAH: USHIRIKI WAKO KWENYE UTAFITI WA LUGHA

Mpendwa,

Kwa jina ninaitwa Daniel Foster. Mimi ni mfanyakazi wa SIL International ambalo ni shirika lisilo la kiserekali. SIL inashughulikia na maendeleo ya lugha. Pia, mimi ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol huko Uingereza.

Kusudi la utafiti huu ni kujaribu kuelewa wasiwasi walio nao wazazi kama nyie kuhusu suala la lugha zilizopo Tanzania na jinsi zinavyotumika kwenye chekechea, shule za awali na hata shule za msingi. Najua suala hilo ni jambo muhimu hapa Tanzania. Ili kupata uelewa mzuri zaidi, ningependa kuwauliza maswali mbalimbali juu ya lugha mnazoongea na vilevile kusikiliza mawazo yenu juu ya nafasi ya lugha katika elimu. Hoja hii itafanyika ndani ya saa moja.

Utafiti huu utasaidia kazi ya SIL hapa Tanzania, pia ni sehemu ya masomo yangu ya PhD. Taarifa nitakazokusanya zitakuwa ni siri, yaani haitajulikana kabisa imetokana na nyinyi. Majina yenu hayatatumiwa kwenye ripoti yoyote pasipo ruhusa yenu nyingine.

Ninanasa zungumzo letu nisiwe na haja ya kuandika wakati tunazungumza. Hivyo sitakosa mambo muhimu, tena baadaye nitaweza kurudia zungumzo letu kupata uhakika zaidi. Muda wowote, hata baada ya kuondoka kwangu, ukiwa na wasiwasi juu ya kushiriki kwako katika utafiti huu, tafadhali, wasiliana na ofisi ya SIL iliyoko Mbeya kwa kuwapigia simu 025 250 [redacted]. Mara nitafuta taarifa zote ulizonipa.

Wasalaam,

Daniel Foster

+255 755 965 [redacted]

B.2.2 English

RE: YOUR PARTICIPATION IN LANGUAGE RESEARCH

My name is Daniel Foster. I work with SIL International, a non-governmental organisation. SIL works in language development. I am also a student at the University of Bristol in England.

The purpose of this research is to try and better understand the concerns that parents like you have about the different languages here in Tanzania and how they are used in nursery schools, preschools, and primary schools. I know this is a very important topic here in Tanzania. To help me understand the situation better I'd like to ask you some questions about the languages you speak as well get your thoughts about the role of language in education. It shouldn't take any longer than 1 hour.

The research will help SIL's work here in language development and is also part of my studies for a PhD. The information I collect from you will be kept in strict confidentiality. Your names will not be known to anyone other than myself nor will they be used in any report unless you give further permission to do so.

I am recording our conversation so that I don't have to take notes while we talk. That way I won't miss anything important and I'll have a copy of it to listen to again later on. If at any point during or after our conversation you decide that you no longer want to be part of this research, please contact the SIL office in Mbeya at 025 250 [redacted] and I will delete all of the information you gave me.

Peace,
Daniel Foster

B.3 Interview Guide

B.3.1 Swahili

Utambulisho

Kwa jina ninaitwa Daniel Foster. Mimi ni mfanyakazi wa SIL International ambalo ni shirika lisilo la kiserekali. SIL inashughulikia na maendeleo ya lugha. Pia, mimi ni mwanfunzi wa Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol huko Uingereza. *Jitambulishe vizuri kwa kueleza mawazo yafuatayo ili kujenga mahusiano na wahojiwa*:

- *jinsi ulivyofika Tanzania*
- *kuazaliwa kwa watoto wako Tanzania*
- *historia yangu*
- *kazi niliyofanya Tanzania*
- *yeyote tunayemfahamu kwa pamoja (k.m. kupitia huduma)*

Washa kinasa na kusoma yafuatayo (pamoja na kusambaza nakala):

> Kusudi la utafiti huu ni kujaribu kuelewa wasiwasi walio nao wazazi kama nyie kuhusu suala la lugha zilizopo Tanzania na jinsi zinavyotumika kwenye chekechea, shule za awali na hata shule za msingi. Najua suala hilo ni jambo muhimu hapa Tanzania. Ili kupata uelewa mzuri zaidi, ningependa kuwauliza maswali mbalimbali juu ya lugha mnazoongea na vilevile kusikiliza mawazo yenu juu ya nafasi ya lugha katika elimu. Hoja hii itafanyika ndani ya saa moja.
>
> Utafiti huu utasaidia kazi ya SIL hapa Tanzania, pia ni sehemu ya masomo yangu ya PhD. Taarifa nitakazokusanya zitakuwa ni siri, yaani haitajulikana kabisa imetokana na nyinyi. Majina yenu hayatatumiwa kwenye ripoti yoyote pasipo ruhusa yenu nyingine.
>
> Ninanasa zungumzo letu nisiwe na haja ya kuandika wakati tunazungumza. Hivyo sitakosa mambo muhimu, tena baadaye

nitaweza kurudia zungumzo letu kupata uhakika zaidi. Muda wowote, hata baada ya kuondoka kwangu, ukiwa na wasiwasi juu ya kushiriki kwako katika utafiti huu, tafadhali, wasiliana na ofisi ya SIL iliyoko Mbeya kwa kuwapigia simu 025 250 [redacted]. Mara nitafuta taarifa zote ulizonipa.

Je, una maswali yoyote kabla hatujaendelea? Naomba ruhusa yenu sasa kuendelea.

Maswali

1. Habari ya watu:

   01: Jaza mti wa lugha.

   i. Wazazi/Walezi na lugha zao

   02: Jaza jedwali la watoto.

   i. Majina, jinsia, umri, lugha zao

   ii. Majina ya shule, lugha za kufundishia

   03: Kwanini mmewatuma watoto wenu kusoma hapa? Kuna shule yoyote nyingine ambayo mngependelea zaidi? Kwanini?

   04: Mmefikia darasa la ngapi?

   05: Mnafanya kazi gani?

   06: Mna miaka mingapi?

2. Matumizi ya lugha na mapendeleo ya wazazi na watoto:

   01: Hapo (*onyesha kwenye mti wa lugha*) mlisema kwamba mna-ongea... Niambie jinisi mnavyotumia kila lugha.

   Kuchimba zaidi:

   i. Fikiria watu ambao mnashirikana nao kila siku au mara kwa mara. Huwa mnatumia lugha zipi kuongea na kila mmoja. Kwanini?

   ii. Je, kuna watu ambao mnatumia lugha mbalimbali, yaani zaidi ya lugha moja kuwasiliana nao? Inakuwaje? Kwanini mnafanya hivyo?

   iii. *Kama haijajibika:* Na watoto je? Mnatumia lugha zipi nao? Kwanini? Je, kuna kuchanganya? Kwanini?

02: Kati ya lugha mnazoongea, mnaongea lugha ipi vizuri zaidi? Kwanini?

03: Kati ya lugha wanazoongea watoto, wanaongea lugha ipi vizuri zaidi? Kwanini?

04: Je, kuna lugha zozote ambazo mngependa kufahamu na kuongea vizuri zaidi? Kwanini?

3. Mawazo ya lugha, ujifunzaji wa lugha na elimu

01: Kwanini lugha mnazoongea ni muhimu kwenu?

i. Kwanini Kimalila ni muhimu kwako?

ii. Kwanini Kiswahili ni muhimu kwako?

iii. Kwanini Kiingereza ni muhimu kwako?

02: Lugha mnazoongea zinatofautiana kivipi?

03: Mlijifunzaje kila lugha?

i. Ulijifunzaje Kimalila?

ii. Ulijifunzaje Kiswahili?

iii. Ulijifunzaje Kiingereza?

04: Na watoto je? Walijifunzaje kila lugha wanazoongea?

i. Walijifunzaje Kimalila?

ii. Walijifunzaje Kiswahili?

iii. Walijifunzaje Kiingereza?

05: Kati ya njia za kujifunza lugha mnapendelea njia ipi?

06: Tuseme mimi nimehamia huku Umalila. Siwezi kuongea kimalila lakini ni muhimu sana nikijue. Wewe, kama rafiki yangu, ungefanyaje kunisaidia kukijifunza?

07: Fikiria kipindi ambacho watoto wako wakishakuwa watu wazima nao wamefanikiwa kimaisha. Wanatumia lugha zipi na kwa namna gani?

i. Wajifunze lugha hizo kwa namna gani? (*Chimba zaidi hapa!*)

08: Mnaonaje? Lugha ipi ni bora kwa mwalimu kuongea wakati anamfundisha (*taja jina la mtoto mfano*)?

i. Mngesemaje kwao wanaosema... (*nenda kinyume*)

09: Kwa watoto wenu kuishi maisha mazuri, maisha yaliyo bora, wanatakiwa kujifunza mambo gani?

i. Wanatakiwa kujifunza nini shuleni?

ii. Wanatakiwa kujifunza nini nje ya shule?

10: Naomba mnielezee hali ya mtu ambaye amelemika. Yukoje? Naye asiyeelimika?

11: Umesikia nini kwenye redio au kutoka magezeti au kwenye TV kuhusu suala la lugha ya kufundishia hapa Tanzania?

i. Mnaonaje mlichosikia?

12: (La hiari) Ikiwa waziri wa elimu, Mheshimiwa Joyce Ndalichako angewaomba ushauri wa kutatua suala la lugha ya kufundishia, mngesemaje?

Hitimisho

Ahsanteni sana kwa ukarimu wenu na kunipatia nafasi hii kuwahoji. Mmekuwa msaada mkubwa kupata majibu yenu kwa maswali hayo. Naomba namba zenu za simu ikitokea haja ya kufuatilia kitu fulani au kuona kama itawezekana kwa nyie kuchangia katika awamu nyingine ya utafiti huu.

B.3.2 English

Introductory Script

My name is Daniel Foster. I work with SIL International, a non-governmental organisation. SIL works in language development. I am also a student at the University of Bristol in England. *Introduce yourself further by explaining the following in order to build rapport with the interviewees:*

- *how and when you came to Tanzania*
- *the birth of your children in Tanzania*
- *my background*
- *the work I have done in Tanzania*
- *someone we mutually know (e.g. through the project)*

Turn on the recorder and read the following (also distribute a hard copy):

The purpose of this research is to try and better understand the concerns that parents like you have about the different languages here in Tanzania and how they are used in nursery schools, preschools, and primary schools. I know this is a very important topic here in Tanzania. To help me understand the situation better I'd like to ask you some questions about the languages you speak as well get your thoughts about the role of language in education. It shouldn't take any longer than 1 hour.

The research will help SIL's work here in language development and is also part of my studies for a PhD. The information I collect from you will be kept in strict confidentiality. Your names will not be known to anyone other than myself nor will they be used in any report unless you give further permission to do so.

I am recording our conversation so that I don't have to take notes while we talk. That way I won't miss anything important and I'll have a copy of it to listen to again later on. If at any point during or after our conversation you

decide that you no longer want to be part of this research, please contact the SIL office in Mbeya at 025 250 [redacted] and I will delete all of the information you gave me.

Do you have any questions before we get started? Do I have your permission to continue?

Questions

1. Demographic Information

   01: Fill the language tree.

      i. Parents/guardians and their languages

   02: Fill the children's chart.

      i. names, sex, age languages

      ii. school name, language of instruction

   03: Why have you enroled your child(ren) to study here. Are there any other schools you would have preferred more? Why?

   04: What is your level of education?

   05: What kind of work do you do?

   06: What is your age?

2. Language usage and preferences by parents and children

   01: You indicated earlier (*pointing to the language tree*) that you spoke the following languages.... Tell me about how you use each of these languages.

   Probing questions:

      i. Think of the people you interact with on a regular basis or from time to time. What languages would you use to speak to each of them? Why?

      ii. Are there people who you use multiple languages with? Can you give some examples of what that looks like? Why are you using multiple languages?

iii. If not answered already: What about your children? What languages do you use with them? Why?

02: What languages do you feel you speak the best? Why?

03: What languages do you wish you spoke better? Why?

04: What languages do you think your children are the most comfortable/confident with?

3. Concepts of language, language learning and learning

01: In what ways are each of the languages you speak important to you? e.g.

i. Why is Malila important to you?

ii. Why is Swahili important to you?

iii. Why is English important to you?

02: How are the languages you speak different from each other?

03: How did you learn each of the languages that you speak? e.g.

i. How did you learn Malila?

ii. How did you learn Swahili?

iii. How did you learn English?

04: What about your children—how did they learn each of the languages that they speak? e.g.

i. How did they learn Malila? etc.

ii. How did they learn Swahili?

iii. How did they learn English?

05: Of the different ways to learn languages, what do you prefer the most?

06: Let's say I moved here to the Malila area. I can't speak Malila but it's important that I know it. As my friend, how would you help me to learn it?

07: Think about a time when your children have grown up and have been successful in life. What languages will they speak and how will they use them?

i. How should they learn each of those languages? (*Dig into the mechanics of this!*)

08: So how do you see it? What is the best language for the teacher to use when they teach (*name the child in the earliest year of schooling*)?

  i. What would you say to those who... (*take the opposite position*)

09: What kind of things do your children need to learn in order to live a good life?

  i. What kind of learning needs to happen in school?

  ii. What kind of learning needs to happen outside of school?

10: Describe an educated person to me. What kind of things can they do?

11: What have you heard on the radio or read in the newspapers about language of instruction here in Tanzania?

  i. What do you think about what you have heard?

12: (Optional) If the Minister for Education, Joyce Ndalichako asked you for advice on how to solve the language of instruction debate in Tanzania, what would you say to her?

Concluding Script

Thank you very much for your hospitality and for the opportunity to interview you. It's been very helpful for me to get your responses to these questions. May I please have your phone number in case I need to follow up with you to clarify something or to see if you might be available to participate in another part of this research?

B.4 Interview Worksheets

Table B.1 and figure B.2 on the following pages were used to write down metadata with participants during the first portion of the interviews. The worksheets were left on the table for the duration of the interview so they could be referred to as needed.

TABLE B.1: Watoto wanaosoma chekechea, shule ya awali au shule ya msingi hadi darasa la tatu
(Children who study in nursery school, preschool or primary school up to year three)

Jina (Name): Jinsia (Sex): Umri (Age): Lugha (Language): - - -		Jina (Name): Jinsia (Sex): Umri (Age): Lugha (Language): - - -		Jina (Name): Jinsia (Sex): Umri (Age): Lugha (Language): - - -	
Chekechea: (Nursery School)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Chekechea: (Nursery School)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Chekechea: (Nursery School)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -
Shule ya Awali: (Preschool)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Shule ya Awali: (Preschool)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Shule ya Awali: (Preschool)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -
Darasa la kwanza: (Primary year one)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Darasa la kwanza: (Primary year one)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Darasa la kwanza: (Primary year one)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -
Darasa la pili: (Primary year two)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Darasa la pili: (Primary year two)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Darasa la pili: (Primary year two)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -
Darasa la tatu: (Primary year three)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Darasa la tatu: (Primary year three)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -	Darasa la tatu: (Primary year three)	Lugha ya kufundishia: (LoI) -

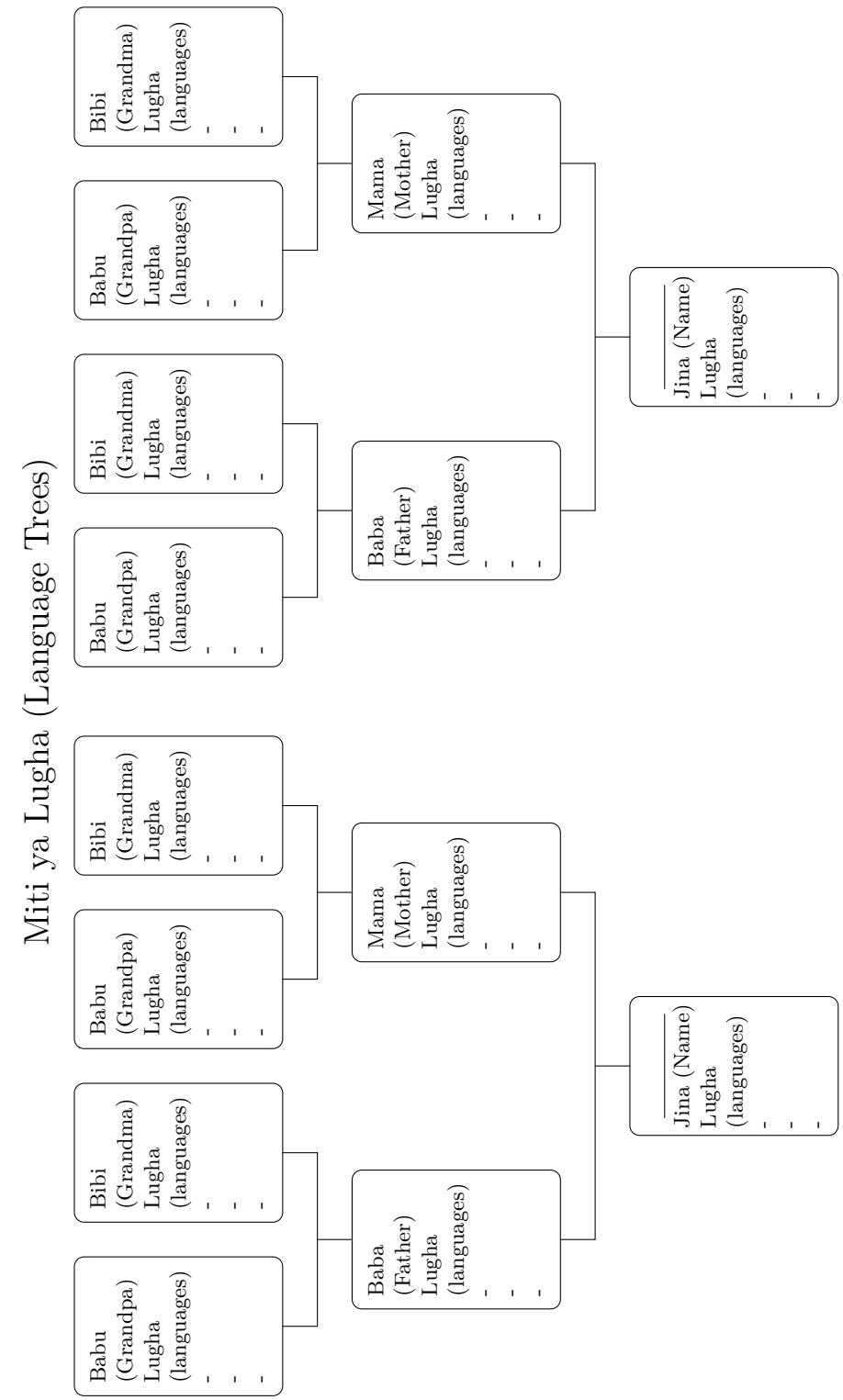

FIGURE B.2: Language 'Trees' Worksheet

Appendix C

Focus Group Discussions

C.1 Focus Group Engagement Letter

C.1.1 Swahili

Each focus group discussion participant received a copy of the letter on the following page. An English translation of the letter's content is provided thereafter in section C.1.2.

SIL International
Uganda Tanzania Branch
S.L.P. 6359
Mbeya, Tanzania

YAH: USHIRIKI WAKO KWENYE UTAFITI WA LUGHA

Mpendwa,

Kwa jina ninaitwa Daniel Foster. Mimi ni mfanyakazi wa SIL International ambalo ni shirika lisilo la kiserekali. SIL inashughulikia na maendeleo ya lugha. Pia, mimi ni mwanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu cha Bristol huko Uingereza.

Kwa nyie mlioshiriki katika mahojiano mwezi uliopita, asanteni kwa kurudi na kunisaidia tena. Kwa nyie ambao ni mara yenu ya kwanza, karibuni sana na vilevile, ninawashukuruni kwa msaada wenu, unasaidia sana.

Kusudi la utafiti huu ni kujaribu kuelewa wasiwasi walio nao wazazi kama nyie kuhusu suala la lugha zilizopo Tanzania na jinsi zinavyotumika kwenye chekechea, shule za awali na shule za msingi. Najua suala hilo ni jambo muhimu hapa Tanzania kwa kuwa tuna lugha nyingi.

Utafiti huu utasaidia kazi ya SIL hapa Tanzania, pia ni sehemu ya masomo yangu ya PhD. Taarifa zote ninazokusanya ni siri, yaani haitajulikana kabisa imetokana na nyinyi. Majina yenu hayatatumiwa kwenye ripoti yoyote pasipo ruhusa yenu nyingine. Matokeo ya utafiti yatapatikana mwishoni mwa mwaka kesho Irembo katika ofisi ya Lugha ya Kimalila - SIL.

Ninanasa zungumzo letu nisiwe na haja ya kuandika wakati tunazungumza. Mkiwa na maswali yoyote kuhusu utafiti huu baada ya kuondoka kwangu, tafadhali, wasiliana na ofisi ya SIL iliyoko Mbeya kwa kuwapigia simu 025 250 [redacted].

Wasalaam,

Daniel Foster
+255 755 965 [redacted]

C.1.2 English

RE: YOUR PARTICIPATION IN LANGUAGE RESEARCH

My name is Daniel Foster. I work with SIL International, a non-governmental organisation. SIL works in language development. I am also a student at the University of Bristol in England.

For those of you who participated in the interviews last month, thank you for returning and helping once again. For those of you for whom this is your first time, you are most welcome and in the same way, I thank you for your contribution, you are helping very much.

The purpose of this research is to try and better understand the concerns that parents like you have about the different languages here in Tanzania and how they are used in nursery schools, preschools, and primary schools. I know this is a very important topic here in Tanzania because we have many languages.

The research will help SIL's work here in language development and is also part of my studies for a PhD. The information I collect from you will be kept in strict confidentiality. Your names will not be used in any report unless you give further permission to do so. The research results will be available at the end of next year in Ilembo at the SIL Malila Language office[1].

I am recording our conversation so that I don't have to take notes while we talk. If you have any questions about this research after I leave, please contact the SIL office in Mbeya at 025 250 [redacted].

Peace,
Daniel Foster

[1]This was part of a plan to disseminate preliminary research findings and get feedback but it was not possible because of logistical and funding issues.

C.2 Focus Group Guide

C.2.1 Swahili

- ❑ Je, kuna maswali yoyote kabla hatujaendelea?
- ❑ Basi, naomba tuendelee.
- ❑ Hatua ya kwanza kwangu ni kufahamiana na nyinyi vizuri zaidi. Ni muhimu kujua kidogo juu ya wale waliochangia mawazo! Naomba kila mtu ataje majina yake, kazi yake na idadi ya watoto wanaosoma hapa.
- ❑ Asanteni. Lengo la kuwakusanyisha leo ni kutengeneza orodha ya nafasi zinazotakiwa kwa watoto wenu. Lakini sizo nafasi zozote—tunatafuta nafasi zile zinazoendana na lugha ambazo nyinyi mnaona ni muhimu kwa watoto wenu kujifunza, kufahamu na kuongea vizuri. Kwa hiyo, naomba mniambie lugha ambazo mngependa watoto wenu kujua, yaani lugha zinazotakiwa kwao ili waishe maisha mazuri.
- ❑ Asanteni. Leo nimekuja na rafiki zangu ambao watatusaidia. Huyu anaongea ki-... na huyu anaongea ki-.... Naye huyu anaongea ki-.... Sasa naomba mjigaweni kuwa makundi matatu. Kila kundi litapewa mdoli mmoja.
- ❑ Sasa chukueni dakika 5 au 6 kujiandaa kutuambia sote kwanini mdoli wenu ana faida kubwa kuliko wenzake. Fikirieni sababu zote yeye ana nafuu katika kujua ki-..., ki-... au ki-.... Lakini kumbukeni mdoli wenu anaongea lugha hii... moja tu. Kazi yenu ni kuwa mpiga debe kwa lugha hiyo! Tafuta angalau sababu 3. Pia, mpeni mdoli jina zuri linalomfaa!
- ❑ Jamani mmefanya vizuri kwa kueleza nafasi zinazotokana na kujua kila lugha. Lakini kumbukeni siyo mashindano kati ya lugha hizi kwa sababu tunataka watoto wetu kuzifahamu zote sindiyo? Kwa hiyo naomba tusaidiane. Labda wakati kundi la [jina la mdoli] walitoa mawazo yao ulikuwa unajisemea, 'Ningekuwemo katika kundi hilo ningeongeza faida nyingine ya kwamba...' Je, kundi la [jina la mdoli] kuna nyongeza zozote kwa makundi mengine za kuwaunga mkono?

- ❑ (Ikiwa kuna mawazo yaliotajwa katika makundi mengine lakini siyo hapa, yataje ili kupata itikio ya kundi hili kama wanakubali au kukataa.) Sasa ningependa kuwashirikisheni katika mawazo ya makundi ya vijiji vingine. Waonaje mawazo yao?

- ❑ Sasa tumekamata nafasi nyingi nazo zinanisaidia mimi wakati nawashauri wenzangu. Naweza kusema kwa uhakika, 'Wanachotaka wazazi wenyewe ni hiki na hiki na hiki' Lakini ingenisaidia vizuri zaidi mngeniambia kati ya hizo, nafasi tano zipi ni muhimu kabisa na kwa sababu gani.

C.2.2 English

- ❑ Are there any questions before we begin?
- ❑ Okay, please allow me to continue.
- ❑ The first step is for me to get to know you all better. It's important to know something about the people who contributed the ideas! Could each of you please state your name, your work, and the number of children you have studying here.
- ❑ Thank you all. The goal of brining you here today is to make a list of opportunities you desire for your children. But these are not just any opportunities—we're looking for the kinds of opportunities that go with the languages that are important for your children to learn, understand and speak well. Therefore, I'd like to ask you to tell me which languages you would like your children to know, in other words, the languages they need to live a good life.
- ❑ Thank you all. Today I have brought some friends along who will help us. This one speaks..., and this one speaks..., and this one speaks.... At this time, I'd like to ask that you divide yourselves into three groups. Each group will receive one doll.
- ❑ At this time, you should all take 5 or 6 minutes to get yourselves prepared to tell the whole group why your doll has an advantage over the other dolls. Think about any reasons at all why he/she[2] is better situated by knowing..., ... or .... But remember, your doll only speaks the one language. Your job is to be an advocate for that language! Look for at least 3 reasons. Also, give your doll a name that suits him/her.
- ❑ Wow you all did a great job explaining the opportunities that result from knowing each language. But remember, this isn't a competition between these languages because we want our children to know them all, right? Therfore, I'd like to ask that we help each other. Maybe when the group for [doll's name] was sharing their ideas you were saying to yourself, 'If I had been in that group I would have also added other

[2]Third person singular pronouns in Swahili do not index gender.

advantages such as...' [doll name] group, is there anything you would like to add to help out the other groups?

- ❑ (If opporunities were mentioned in other focus groups but not here, mention them to this group to see if they agree or disagree.) Now I'd like to share with you opportunities mentioned by other groups in different villages. What do you think of their ideas?

- ❑ We've now gathered many opportunities and they will be able to help me when I'm advising others. I'll be able to say with certainty, 'What parents themselves desire is this and this and this.' But it would help even more if you would tell me which five opportunities are the most important and for what reasons[3].

[3]This last item was used in the pilot studies and in the first focus group discussion but I abandoned it in the remaining groups since I began to feel I was forcing parents to make sacrifices whereas the activity was designed to draw out *all* valued capabilities.

Appendix D

Data Sample

In table D.1, I give a sample of data extracted from a query for the non-default label ***lugha mama*** 'mother language', which was used to index the Malila language. The label occured 6 times in 4 sources.[1]

TABLE D.1: Non-default label for Malila: ***lugha mama*** 'mother language'

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
Household - Interview ID:	Charles & Glory - 121102		
Village - Date:	Mbawi - June 15		
Context:	Q3.07		
26:43–26:50	Kwenye picha hii mbele atakuwa anatumia lugha zipi?	In this picture of the future which languages will she be using?	Danny

Continued on next page

[1] To protect anonymity, pseudonyms are used.

Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
26:50–27:14	Mimi nadhani kimalila hawezi akakiacha. Japokuwa hata kama amesoma, pengine ameenda mbali, hawezi akasahau lugha mama. Maana pengine amesoma huko amekuja na lugha zingine, zenyewe sisi hatuzifahamu. Inabidi aongee kimalila chenyewe na sisi tunaelewa na tunamjibu.	For me I think that she can't abandon Malila. Even if she's gone to school, maybe she's gone far away, she can't forget the mother language. Because even if she studied elsewhere and she returns with other languages, we don't understand those other languages. She will have to speak Malila only and then we can understand and respond to her.	Glory
Household - Interview ID:	Gilbert & Grace - 121311		
Village - Date:	Shiranga - June 16		
Context:	Q2.01 & Q2.03		

Continued on next page

Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
17:22.–17:32	Maana yangu wewe kama waza= ninyi kama wazazi, wakati mko nyumbani, mnatumia lugha ipi zaidi? Kiswahili au kinyakyu= aa kinyakyusa, kimalila?!	What I mean is you as par= you both as parents, when you're at home, which langauge do you use more? Swahili or Nyakyu= aa [not] Nyakyusa, Malila?!	Danny
17:32–17:36	Ni kimalila. Ndio.	It's Malila. Yes.	Gilbert
17:36–17:40	Kwa nini kimalila?	Why Malila?	Danny
17:40–17:42	Kwa sababu ndio lugha mama.	Because it's the mother language.	Gilbert
Household - Interview ID:	Petro - 110404		
Village - Date:	Ilembo - June 28		
Context:	Q2.01		
10:45–10:58	Kwa hiyo sasa labda tupitie kila moja. Kimalila. Ina kazi gani kwako? Wewe unakitumia tofauti na kiswahili na kiingereza?	So now let's look at each [language]. Malila. What role does it have for you? How do you use it differently from Swahili or English?	Danny

Continued on next page

Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
10:58–11:14	Kimalila yaani lugha mama hii ndio unajua tunaizungumza sana yaani kueleweka sana kwa haraka mtu ana= ambaye anakaa huku umalila tuko tunaelewana vizuri sana. Hata wengine wazee ukimwambia kiswahili wengine utakuta hakuelewi kabisa inabidi utumie sana kimalila. Ndivyo ueleweke.	Malila is the mother language and you know we are speaking it a lot. I mean to be really understood quickly by someone who lives here in the Malila region, we're in a position to understand one another very well. And for the elderly if you speak to some of them in Swahili you'll find they don't understand at all and so you really have to use Malila. Then you'll be understood.	Lazaro
Household - Interview ID:		Petro - 110404	
Village - Date:		Ilembo - June 28	
Context:		Q3.03	
15:57–16:04	Sasa ulijifunzaje kimalila wewe?	Now how did you learn Malila?	Danny

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Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
16:04–16:19	Kimalila? Mimi nilijifunza kwa sababu ndio lugha ambayo ni lugha mama hapa. Mtaani ipo, wazazi wenyewe, akina bibi, ukienda kukaa kwa bibi anakufundisha kimalila. Anakuambia, 'Chukua kile pale kitu,' anaongea kwa kimalila. Hapo tunaijifunza.	Malila? I learned it because it's the language which is the mother language here. It's there on the street, the elderly themselves, the grandmothers, if you go stay with your grandmother she teaches you Malila. She tells you, 'Take that thing there,' while speaking in Malila. There we are learning it.	Lazaro
Household - Interview ID:		Junior & Adeline - 142405	
Village - Date:		Ilembo - June 28	
Context:		Q2.01 & Q3.03	
11:55–12:02	Ya kawaida, yaani siku za kawaida mna lugha hizi mbili, unazitumiaje??	Regularly, in other words on normal days you have these two languages, how do you use them?	Danny

Continued on next page

Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
12:02–12:34	Lugha ya kimalila ndio lugha mama ambayo kwamba ninazaliwa nimeikuta lugha ya kimalila ambayo sasa nikaendelea nayo kujifunza nikiwa hapa. Lakini hii lugha ya kiswahili nimejifunza nje ya familia. Ina maana kwamba baada ya kuja shuleni na kuchanganyikana na watu wengine ndipo nilipojikuta kwamba lugha ya kiswahili. Ndio lugha ambayo ni lugha ya mawasiliano kwa watu wengine hata ambao hawajui lugha yangu ya kimalila.	The Malila language is the mother language, which I encountered when I was born and which I continue to learn when I am here. But this Swahili language I learned outside of the family. It means that after I came to school and mixed with other people then I discovered the Swahili language.	Junior
Household - Interview ID:	Junior & Adeline - 142405		
Village - Date:	Ilembo - June 28		
Context:	Q3.02		

Continued on next page

Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	**Source**	**Translation**	**Speaker**
20:17–20:29	Kama mtu anasema, ‘Eleza tofauti kati ya kiswahili na kimalila,’ ungesemaje? Zinatofautiana kivipi?	If someone says, ‘Explain the difference between Swahili and Malila,’ what would you say? How are they different from each other?	Danny
20:29–21:18	Tofauti yake iliyopo kati ya kiswahili na kimalila? Tuseme hizi zote ni lugha. Hizi zote ni lugha lakini kinachokuja labda kina= kinatofautisha ni kwamba ni katika upatikanaji wake. Kwamba lugha ya kimalila, kadili ya makuzi yetu, sisi tunasema kwamba ni lugha mama kwamba ninapozaliwa tu nakutana na kimalila hiki hapa.	The difference that is there between Swahili and Malila? Let’s say that they are both languages. They are both languages but what becomes apparent maybe is that they are= they are different in the way they are obtained. It’s the case that the Malila language, as part of our upbringing, we say that it’s the mother language such that when I was born I just encountered Malila right here.	Junior

Continued on next page

Table D.1 – continued from previous page

Timestamp	Source	Translation	Speaker
	Lakini hii= hiki kiswahili inakuwa kama lugha ngeni kwa sababu kwamba katika mazingira yale ya ambamo nimezaliwa na nilipokulia pale pale haijaweza kupatikana ila nimekuja kuipata baada ya kutoka nje kama nilivyokwenda darasani.	But this Swahili is like a foreign language because in the specific environment in which I was raised it wasn't possible to get it until I went outside like I did when I went to school.	